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HE INDIAN ANTIQUARY

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THE GÂYDÂṆṚ FESTIVAL.

(Association of the Pig with Cattle and Corn.)

BY KALIPADA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

WE have already seen (*ante*, vol. LX, pp. 187-190 and 235-238) that in Bihâr and ' the cattle are made to gore the pig to death in the *gâydâṇṛ* festival, in Madras the cattle driven over, and trample to death, the pig buried up to its neck in the earth, and in Bom- the wild boar is killed and buried as a remedy against cattle-disease. The sacrifice of pig in all these forms is believed to benefit the cattle in a mysterious way. The belief not, however, confined to India, but is also prevalent in some parts of Europe. Sir James Frazer relates in his *Golden Bough* that in Esthonia the Christmas Boar is distributed among the cattle on New Year's day. Usually it is a cake in a form that nearly or remotely suggests a pig, or is somehow associated with the pig, e.g., it is " baked of *the first rye cut at harvest*; it has a conical shape and a cross is impressed on it with *a pig's bone*." In other parts of the island the Christmas Boar is not a cake, but a little pig born in March, which the housewife secretly fattens, and secretly kills on Christmas Eve, roasts in the oven, and keeps standing on the table on all fours for several days. The Christmas boar is crumbled, mixed with salt and given to cattle, on the New Year's day, or when driven out to pasture the first time in spring, or at the time of barley sowing, " to guard them from magic and harm " or " in the hope of a heavier crop." In some cases the Christmas boar is " partaken of by farm-servants."

It will have been seen, therefore, that there is an undoubted association between the pig, and cattle and corn. Strangely enough there is a passage in the *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa* which seems to furnish an explanation of the relation. Certain ceremonies are performed in connection with the coronation of the king. "He (the king) puts on shoes of boar's skin. Now the gods once put a pot of ghee on the fire. Therefrom a boar was produced; hence the boar is fat, for it was produced from ghee. Hence also cows readily take to a boar: it is indeed their own essence (life, sap, blood) they are readily taking to. Thus he firmly establishes himself in the essence of the cattle; therefore he puts on shoes of boar's skin."[1] I cannot say that I have understood the real significance of the passage, but at least verbally " the boar is indeed their (the cows') own essence," etc.

We have seen above that the eating of the Christmas boar by the cattle is supposed to protect them from harm, or promote pasturage, and when partaken also by farm-servants, to yield a heavy crop of barley. This last-mentioned practice has a sacramental air, and resembles the sacramental eating of the pig by the Bihârî Goâlâs. I think that all such practices were primarily of a general beneficent character, viz., as affording protection from magic and harm, disease and death, or removal of obstacles to fecundity and vegetation (of all kinds) before they were regarded as the peculiarities of a specific stage, pastoral or agricultural, benefitting specifically cattle or corn, either when sown or reaped.

I have already mentioned that they cut off the left ear of the pig, took it singing to my *bathân* and buried it therein. Although, no specific explanation could be advanced, it is evident that this was done for *the benefit of the cattle.*

At the rites of Dionysus and other similar rites for quickening vegetation, the live victim was rent to pieces, the flesh eaten as a sacrament, and (Frazer conjectures) some of it " buried in the fields, or otherwise employed so as to convey to the fruits of the earth the quickening influence of the god of vegetation."[2]

[1] Eggeling—*Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa*, S. B. E., vol. XLI, pp. 102, 103.
[2] *The Golden Bough*, p. 468.

It is well-known that the Khonds sacrificed the Meriah to the Earth Goddess for securing abundant crops and immunity from all disease and accident. It is needless to describe here the manner of the sacrifice. It will suffice to say that while the neck or the waist of the victim was held between split bamboos or in the cleft of a branch of a tree and squeezed tight, the frenzied crowd rushed at the quivering wretch and hewed the flesh from the bones. The flesh was then carried away and a portion buried in the earth as an offering to the Earth Goddess, and other portions distributed among different heads of houses, who buried them in their favourite fields. The entire proceeding looks like a religious ceremony. Frazer observes: " The story that the fragments of Osiris's body were scattered up and down the land, and buried by Isis on the spots where they lay, may very well be a reminiscence of a custom, like that observed by the Khonds, of dividing the human victim in pieces, and burying the pieces, often at intervals of many miles from each other, in the fields."

Now Dionysus and Osiris were regarded as the Corn-spirit. Human and animal representatives of the Corn-spirit were sacrificed. The Egyptian monuments furnish evidence of the tradition of human sacrifice at the tomb of Osiris. The Meriah victim was also the human representative of the divine Corn-spirit. He dies " that all the world may live," that humanity be free from disease and reap abundant crops. The pig at the *gâyḍâṇṛ* seems to be the animal representative of the Corn-spirit, and though its association with the harvesting of corn has grown dim, yet its sacrifice seems to conduce to the general well-being of man and cattle. It looks paradoxical that the god, in his representative character as man or animal, should be sacrificed; but this is the characteristic of the Vedic *yajña*, as explained by the late Principal Ramendra Sundar Trivedi in his *Yajña-kathâ*, which I will try to unfold later on.

Of all the animals, the pig, goat, ox, horse or others, the pig seems to be specially preferred. The pig was sacred to Demeter, the Corn Goddess, in whose honour it was sacrificed, either to cajole her into giving a bumper crop, or as a thanksgiving for an abundant harvest. Demeter assumed the form of a pig, and her being horse-headed at Phigalia is explained by the legend that " the horse was one of the animal forms assumed in ancient Greece as in modern Europe by the Corn-spirit."[3] I have already mentioned that " the wild pig is ceremonially hunted by the Râjpûts as representing Gaurî Devî, the Mother-Goddess in her benign form, and the flesh is sacramentally eaten." In India the pig is sacrificed to Goddess Kâlî, and other Mother-Goddesses (cf. *Kavikaṅkana-caṇḍî*). Mackenzie says that Demeter was the specialized form of the primitive Goddess Gaia, when associated with the crops. Gaia was an earth goddess, and had an incarnation as the Delphian Snake. The Cretan Rhea had the same attributes as Gaia. Men or animals (including pigs) were slain when foundation stones were laid, or seeds were sown, to secure the goodwill and co-operation of the earth-genius. The pig was sacrificed to Rhea, as to other earth-spirits, but as pork was a taboo in Crete, the pig sacrificed before Rhea was eaten sacrificially only.[4]

So it seems that the pig killed in the *gâyḍâṇṛ*, was originally an animal sacrificed in honour of the Mother-Goddess, probably as a thanksgiving for the harvest of *âûs dhân* (autumn paddy). But this idea has faded and grown dim, and has been mixed up with other ideas such as chasing away of sin, disease, bad luck, and so on, and bringing in of health and good luck on the first day of the New Year—for the festival is held on the first day of a New Year as I will show. It is remarkable that on the previous day the Goddess Kâlî, the terrible Mother-Goddess, and along with her Lakṣmî and Alakṣmî (benign and malign aspects of the Mother-Goddess) were worshipped, and the Feast of Light or Lamps, or the *dîvâlî*, was celebrated. I shall show the significance of this.

It seems to me that the original victim was the human animal, and the pig was a later substitute. The custom of burying the pig in Madras and driving the cattle over its head

[3] Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, p. 471.

[4] D. A. Mackenzie, *Myths of Crete*, pp. 174-176.

was probably borrowed from the Lambadis, who, as Abbé Dubois relates in his *Hindu Manners and Customs*, secretly carried off some unfortunate victim to a lonely spot and buried him alive in a hole up to the neck, and danced round him singing and making noise till he expired, or else buried a child up to its shoulders and drove the cattle over it, for good luck. This was a peculiar mode of human sacrifice. The Todas drove buffaloes over female children. Rai Bahadur Hira Lal tells us: "The Brinjârîs were similarly wont *to place a child in front of the bullocks* and to drive them, with the result that the child was trampled over and safety of the cattle secured at least for a year by *this ceremony*."[5] Probably men were at one time sacrificed by savages by impaling them alive. In Madras animals are impaled alive in the carts driven in the procession of the Ammas (Mother-Goddesses). Was hook-swinging another form? Men were swung round by means of iron-hooks fastened through the muscles in their back. In Madras sheep are thus swung. In Chîna Kimedi the Meriah victim was fastened to the proboscis of a wooden elephant, which revolved on a stout post, and as it whirled round the crowd cut the flesh from the victim while life remained.[6]

THE INTERROGATIVE BASES OF DRAVIDIAN.

BY L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L. (MAHARAJA'S COLLEGE, ERNAKULAM.)

CALDWELL has observed in the course of his discussion of the Dravidian demonstratives and interrogatives[1] that in Dravidian "probably there was originally only one interrogative base, and if so, it must have been *yâ*, and [the other base] *e* must have been corrupted from it." Caldwell confined his treatment mainly to a consideration of the forms of the major dialects, and contented himself only with passing references to some of the minor dialects. Thus for instance he dismisses the Gôṇḍî interrogative base *bô* and Tuḷu interrogative *vô* with the cryptic sentence: "The Gônd interrogative *bâ* and *bô* appear to be hardened from *yâ*, like the Tuḷu *vâ*."

Now, the view of Caldwell that of the two interrogative bases *yâ* is the original and *ê* is secondary, does not appear to have received the approval of some later scholars.

In the second volume of *Dravidic Studies* published by the University of Madras several years ago under the editorship of Prof. Mark Collins, the original base is presumed to be open *ê*.[2] Similarly, Mr. E. H. Tuttle in his paper on Dravidian Gender-Words[3] also appears to regard *e* as the original base.

A careful comparative analysis of the forms of the minor dialects, especially of Gôṇḍî, Tuḷu and Kûi would, I think, tend to confirm rather than contradict Caldwell's suggestion of *yâ* being the original interrogative base.

Any discussion of Dravidian interrogatives would involve references to Dravidian demonstratives, with which they are intimately connected. A table of the prominent demonstrative adjectives, adverbs and pronouns is appended at the end of the essay, while I give immediately below a table of the interrogative forms in the several dialects of Dravidian.

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5 *Man in India*, vol. I—"Human sacrifice in Central India." (Italics are mine.)

6 Cf. the *charak pûjâ* of Bengal.

1 Page 422 of his *Comparative Grammar* (3rd edn.)

2 Page 43.

3 *BSOS*, vol. IV, p. 774.

Table of principal Interrogatives in Dravidian.

	Pronominals and Adjectives.	Adverbs.				Pronouns.
		Place.	Time.	Manner and Measure.	General.	
Tam.	*êdu* (which ?) *enna* (what ?) *enda* (which ?) [old Tam.] *e*, common	*eṅge*, *eṅgu*	*eppoḻudu*	*eppaḍi* (how ?) *ettanai* (how much ?) [old Tam.] : *eṉṉanam* (how ?) *endu* (how ?) *ettru* (how ?)	*ên* (why ?) *eṉ*	*yâvan*, etc.; *êvan*, etc.
Tel.	*êmi* (what ?) *ê* (which ?)	*ekkaṭa* [old Tel.] *endu*	*eppuḍu*	*eṭu* (how ?) *enta* (how much ?)	*enduku*	*êvaḍu*, etc.
Kann.	*ênu* (what ?) [old Kann.] *ê*, *â*, *yâ*	*elli* (where ?) *ettalu* (which side ?)	*endu*	*eṣṭu* (how ?) *êsu* (how much ?) *entu* (how ?)	*yâke* (why ?) *ênu*	[old K.] *âvan*, etc. ,, *yâvan*, etc. ,, *dâvan*, etc.
Tuḷu	*vâ* } *vôvu* } (which ?) *dâ* } *dânæ* (what ?) *jânæ* (what ?)	*ôḷu* (where ?) *ôḍe* (whither ?)	(*y*) *êpa*	*eñca* (how ?)	*jâye* (why ?) *dâye* (why ?)	*yêru* (who ?) *dânæ* (what ?) *jânæ*
Kûi	*ani* (what ?) *esti* (which ?)	*estâva*	*eseka* (when ?)	*ese* (how much ?) *isingi* (how ?)	*anâki* (why ?)	*anañju*, etc. *estañju*, etc. *imbai* (who?)
Gôṇḍi	*batti* (which ?)	*bêga*	*bappôṛ*	*bacnal* (how much ?)	*bâbâ* (why ?) *bâri*	*bôl*. *bad*.
Kur.	*ekâ*	*ek-san*, etc.	*ekâ-bîri*	*eõ* (how much ?)	*endr*	*endr* (what ?) *nê* (who ?)
Brâhûi	*ant* (what ?) *arâ* (which ?)	*arârêk*	*arâ vakht*	*âma* (how ?)	....	*ant* (what ?) *dêr* (who ?) *aṛa* (which ?)

An examination of the forms listed above would reveal the following facts, which may be noted preliminarily :—

(1) In Tamil and Telugu the bases appear to be mostly *yâ* and *ê*. Kannada has alternative forms with initial *â* also in an ancient stage ; Tamil shows *â* in *âru* (who) alternating with *yâru*, while modern Telugu shows *ê*- forms throughout, though ancient inscriptions contain a few *yâ* forms. Old Kannaḍa has also a base *dâ* which will be discussed separately below, along with Tuḷu *dâ*- and Brâhûî *dêr* (who).

(2) In Tuḷu there appear the bases *vâ, vô, dâ*, and there exist also certain forms with initial *ô*-, besides *ê*-.

(3) In Gôṇḍî the base throughout shows initial *b*- : *-ba* or *bo*.

(4) Kûi shows both *a* and *e* as the interrogative bases of its forms.

Now, to begin with, let us observe that the *yâ*- forms are ancient in Tamil and that the initial *y*- does not appear as an isolated phenomenon in the interrogative base alone before *â*-. There are many instances where words beginning with *â* do incorporate *y* alternatively with forms without *y*.

Compare the following :—

âḍu (sheep) *yâḍu*.
âṛu (river) *yâṛu*.
âmai (tortoise) *yâmai*.

Which among these are we to consider as the originals ? An examination of the cognates and source-bases of these forms would show that those with initial *â* may be the originals. *Âḍu*, for instance, is connected with the verb *âḍ* (to swing, dance, leap) which appears without initial *y*- in many dialects. *Âṛu* is related to the base *aṛ* (to cut) which is represented in all the dialects without any initial or prothetic *y*-. *Âmai* has been related to Tamil *amai* (to merge) by some, and by others to *am* (water) borrowed from Sanskrit. Whichever may be the correct view, there is no need or warrant for us to postulate an *original* palatal value for the initial *â* of this form. It would appear therefore that the *original* character of the initial vowel of these forms need neither have been *ǣ* nor have been palatal at all.

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON INDIAN MAUNDS.

BY W. H. MORELAND, C.S.I., C.I.E.

(Continued from vol. LX, p. 224.)

VI. Jahângîr's Data.

In approaching the data given in Jahângîr's *Memoirs* it is necessary to remember that (1) Saiyid Ahmad's printed text, the only one known to me, seems, according to Beveridge, " to have been made from a single and defective MS. and is often incorrect "; (2) the extant MSS. have not, so far as I know, been critically studied, and the authority of individual specimens is a matter of opinion ; (3) Beveridge relied largely on " the excellent MSS. in the India Office and the British Museum," so that, accepting his judgment of their value, the translation which he edited is in general a better authority than the text ; but (4) it is not absolutely literal, while there are occasional misprints. It follows that neither text nor translation can be servilely accepted.

Apart from the maund of his own creation, Jahângîr mentions two Indian units, Akbarî and Hindûstânî, and four foreign units, those of Irâq, Khurâsân, Wilâyat and Îrân ; but the equations by which he connects Indian and foreign weights are so contradictory as to make it practically certain that he used the names loosely. It is necessary therefore to examine his successive statements in terms of both the Indian units, the Hindûstânî being assumed to be identical with Bâbur's ' maund of Hind,' and being taken as about 15 lb., while the Akbarî is taken as 55 lb.

(1) Translation, i. 7. The Chain of Justice weighed "four maunds of Hindûstân equal to 42 (translation: text, thirty-two) maunds of Irâq." Beveridge usually explained in a footnote when he departed from the text: there is no footnote here, and the text, being confirmed by the British Museum MS. (Add. 26, 218), as well as that in the India Office (Ethé, 2833), must be accepted. The approximate weight would be either 220 lb. (Akbarî) or 60 lb. (Hindûstânî). The former figure means a lot of gold, but Beveridge's note suggests that silver was actually used, and perhaps the chain was in fact silver-gilt. It seems probable that here Hindûstân denotes the smaller unit rather than the Akbarî, but the passage must be classed as ambiguous.

(2) i. 78. In the first year of his reign Jahângîr weighed 3¼ maunds, Hindûstânî weight —either 179 lb. or 49 lb. The latter figure is quite impossible, the former reasonable; and here Hindûstânî must mean Akbarî, or some unit of about the same size. Subsequent passages indicate that it is in fact Akbarî. Thus (i. 183), in the fifth year the Emperor's weight is given in tolas of gold and rupees, which together work out to about 170 lb.; in the eleventh year (i. 332) the figures again work out to about 170 lb.; while in the sixteenth year (ii. 215), we read that "when I was in health I weighed 3 maunds and one or two sers more or less, but this year, as a result of my weakness and leanness, I was only 2 maunds and 27 sers." In Akbarî units this gives a normal weight of about 165 lb., reduced through illness to about 147 lb. Prince Parvîz weighed (i. 81) two maunds and 18 sers, either 135 or 37 lb. The latter figure is quite impossible for a lad of 17, and the passage confirms the inference that such weighings were made regularly in Akbarî units.

(3) i. 83. Details are given of the weights of three trophies. A mountain goat weighed "2 maunds and 24 sers, equal to 21 maunds of Wilâyat"; a ram weighed "2 maunds and 3 sers Akbarî, equivalent to 17 maunds of Wilâyat"; and a wild ass weighed "9 maunds and 16 sers, equal to 76 maunds of Wilâyat." (The word 'Persian' in the translation is not in the text.) The weighings were made at the same time, and it is reasonable to infer that all three were made with the same weights, so that the figures are Akbarî, which is mentioned for one of them. This inference is confirmed by the fact, for which I am indebted to the Assistant Keeper of Zoology at the Natural History Museum, that, if the unit is taken as Akbarî, the weights are reasonable, while a unit of 15 lb. would make them impossibly low.

(4) i. 93. The saffron crop was "in weight of Hindûstân 500 maunds, equal to 5000 (translation: text, four thousand) maunds of Vilâyat." The discrepancy is not explained by Beveridge; and the text, which is confirmed by both Add. 26, 215, and Ethé 2833, must be accepted. Again (ii. 177), the saffron crop was "400 maunds of current weight equal to 3002 maunds of Khurâsân." Beveridge noted that the MSS. have 3200, and it is safe to infer that the word *sad* has dropped out of the text, which should read *sih hazâr wa dû* [*sad*] *man bâshad*. In the absence of data regarding area and yield, these passages can throw no light on the question what unit was meant, but the equations in them are important, as explained below.

(5) i. 188. It is noted as remarkable that a specially bred camel carried a load of five *nîlgâî*, weighing 42 Hindûstânî maunds. This would be either 2310 or 630 lb. The former figure must be accepted; I learn from the Natural History Museum that fully-grown *nîlgâî* would weigh from 400 to 500 lb. each, and the average of these five is 462 lb.; the alternative average of 126 lb. is quite impossible. Here, therefore, 'Hindûstânî' must be used for Akbarî. The load for a single camel is enormous, 500 lb. being the ordinary standard in North India at this period; and we must take it that, as the text implies, this particular camel was a magnificent animal.

(6) i. 242. The silver used in certain decorations was stated to be "125 maunds in weight of Hindûstân, equal to 880 maunds of Wilâyat." This would be either 6875 or 1875 lb. The former figure—over three tons—is improbably high, the latter is quite high enough for the context; it looks to me as if the precious metals here, as in passage (1), were weighed by the smaller unit, but the data are not conclusive.

(7) i. 308. At one time the weight of spirits which Jahângîr drank in a day was "6 sers of Hindûstân, equal to $1\frac{1}{2}$ maunds of Îrân." The spirit was strong, for it is described as doubly-distilled, and it was taken undiluted. Under this régime the Emperor's health suffered very seriously, and the Court doctor said that "in six months matters will come to such a pass that there will be no remedy for it." Jahângîr then reduced his allowance to a comparatively moderate amount.

If these sers are Akbarî, the daily ration of strong, undiluted spirit was over 8 lb. ; such spirit would weigh practically a pound the pint, so the ration would be more than a gallon. The doctors whom I have consulted agree that this is utterly impossible, because alcoholic poisoning must have resulted immediately. If the unit is Hindûstânî, the ration would be a little over two pints, which, I am informed, is within the limits of possibility, though the Court doctor was perhaps sanguine in thinking that his patient could live for as long as six months under such a régime.

(8) ii. 150. In describing the temples in Kashmîr, Jahângîr gave the weight of some of the building-stones as 30 to 40 maunds (denomination not specified). With the Akbarî unit, this would be from 1650 to 2200 lb., or say about a ton. The huge size of the stones in these buildings is notorious, and one of them in the temple of Payech measures 256 cubic feet (*Impl. Gazetteer*, xv. 98), which would weigh from 15 to 20 tons according to the kind of stone. With the smaller unit, the stones would not be much out of the common, and it may be inferred that Jahângîr was here thinking in terms of the Akbarî maund.

(9) ii. 163. A cannon ball weighed "10 maunds as current in Hîndûstân, equal to 80 maunds of Khurâsân." This would be either 550 or 150 lb. ; on the data given in the preceding section even the smaller figure is impossible, and it looks to me as if the teller of the story reproduced by Jahângîr had spoken in terms of the artillery-maund of about 2 lb. (making the ball about 20 lb.) ; and that Jahângîr had carelessly treated it as an Indian unit.

These passages may be classed as follows :—No. (4) is quite ambiguous : Nos. (2), (3), (5) and (8) certainly refer to Akbarî units, though in two of them the name Hindûstânî is used : Nos. (7) and (9) certainly do not refer to Akbarî units : Nos. (1) and (6) probably do not refer to Akbarî units. Of the last four, three can be interpreted in terms of a unit about 15 lb., while the other requires the smaller artillery unit.

The only conclusion I can draw is that, while Jahângîr knew of the 'maund of Hind' of about 15 lb., he used the term Hindûstânî, not in this specific sense, but loosely in the sense of 'Indian' as contrasted with 'foreign,' so that it might denote whatever Indian unit was in fact used,—ordinarily the Akbarî, but the Hindûstânî certainly in the cellar, and probably in the treasury, and the 2 lb. maund in the artillery. This conclusion is supported by the equivalents given in terms of foreign units.

Jahângîr names successively the maunds of Irâq, Wilâyat, Îrân, and Khurâsân. It is not likely that he was practically familiar with various foreign maunds bearing these distinctive names, and I take the truth to be that he knew of a small foreign maund in the countries lying to the west, to which he gave one name or another according to the fancy of the moment ; and further that he converted Indian to foreign weight by the use of a single simple formula, which was sometimes, but not always, correct—in fact that he multiplied by 8 and rounded to the nearest foreign maund.

The ratios, foreign to Indian, given by his equations are as follows :

Passage (1) Irâq to Hindûstân, 32 to 4, or 8 : 1.

„ (3) Wilâyat to Akbarî (i), 21 to $2\frac{3}{8}$; or allowing for rounding, 8 : 1.
(ii), 17 to $2\frac{3}{40}$; or allowing for rounding, 8 : 1.
(iii), 76 to $9\frac{3}{8}$; or allowing for rounding, 8 : 1.

„ (4) Wilâyat to Hindûstân (i), 4000 to 500 ; or 8 : 1.
(ii), 3200 to 400 ; or 8 : 1.

Passage (6) Wilâyat to Hindûstân, 880 to 125 ; or 7 : 1 nearly.
„ (7) Îrân to Hindûstân, 60 to 6 ; or 10 : 1.
„ (9) Khurâsân to Hindûstân, 80 to 10 ; or 8 : 1.

It is obvious that Jahângîr usually multiplied by 8, whatever the Indian units might be. In one case (6), he must have multiplied accidentally by 7 instead of 8, for the names of the units are the same as in (4), where the factor 8 is used. The only other abnormality is the factor 10 in (7). This may possibly be intentional, since Îrân is mentioned once only, but one can picture Jahângîr muttering as he wrote : " I drank six sers Hindûstânî ; multiplied by 8, that makes more than a maund of Îrân, call it 1½."

If this factor 8 was properly applicable to the Akbarî maund, then the foreign maunds were just under 7 lb. I know of no such unit prevailing widely over the countries named ; the nearest to it is the local maund of Tabrîz, which weighed 6¼ lb. (*Letters Received*, v. 248), and this should be multiplied by 9, not 8. On the other hand, the traditional unit in the countries named was certainly the Arab 2-*ritl* maund, which in this region was slightly less than two pounds. One-eighth of 15 lb., the maund of Hind, is 1⅞ lb., giving a *ritl* very close to the ordinary value.

Jahângîr's figures then, when taken together, can be interpreted as follows, but, so far as I can see, in no other way. He wrote down whatever Indian weight was given to him, calling it usually ' Indian ' ; he multiplied by 8 and rounded to get the foreign equivalent (though he once used the factor 7 by mistake), and his name for the foreign equivalent varied at different periods. Even apart from this interpretation, it is certain that he knew of an Indian maund approximately 8 times the weight of the Arab maund, and thus equivalent to Bâbur's maund ; and this ' maund of Hind ' was probably used in certain departments of the Palace. If we accept Professor Hodivala's emendation of the text of Gulbadan Begam, we have another reference to the same unit ; but even if we reject that suggestion, the evidence for such a maund seems to be adequate.

Two other references to a ' Hindûstânî ' unit are contained in that portion of the *Âîn-i Akbarî* which describes the extreme north of India, and the mountainous country to the north-west. In these regions the commonest unit of weight was not called a maund ; the name used was ' donkey-load ' (*kharwâr*), a fact which has a definite bearing on the suggestion made in an earlier section that customary units originated in some feature of packing and transport, for there can be no question that a unit called donkey-load originated in this way. In Kashmîr (i. 570), the donkey-load was " 3 maunds and 8 sers Akbarshâhî "; the last word leaves no room for doubt that the compiler here meant the Akbarî maund, so that in this region the unit was 176 lb., a heavy load for a mountain donkey, but not inconsistent with the meaning of the name.

In the district of Qandahâr (i. 586) the donkey-load was " 40 maunds of Qandahâr and 10 maunds of Hindûstân." This latter unit cannot, I think, be the Akbarî, for a donkey-load of anything like 550 lb. is out of the question. We have the fact that one Hindûstânî was equal to 4 Qandahârî maunds. In Garmsîr (i. 588), 50 Garmsîrî maunds were equal to 20 Qandahârî ; and the ' donkey-load ' was 100 maunds, equal to 10 maunds of Hindûstân. If this Hindûstânî maund is taken at about 15 lb. the donkey-load in both Qandahâr and Garmsîr was about 150 lb., quite a probable figure for this region : the Qandahâr maund was double the 2-*ritl* maund ; and the Garmsîr maund was slightly smaller than the usual 2-*ritl* maund. I have found no other passages throwing light on these two Afghan maunds, but it would appear that the compiler of this portion of the *Âîn-i Akbarî* understood ' Hindûstânî ' in the sense already deduced ; and the 15 lb. maund must be accepted as a fact—not, so far as I know, recorded in wholesale commerce, but recognised in the Palace and also in administrative circles.

(*To be continued.*)

A BALLAD OF KERALA.

BY M. D. RAGHAVAN, B.A., D.A. (OXON.), F.R.A.I., PERSONAL ASSISTANT TO THE SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT MUSEUM, MADRAS.

THE folk songs characteristic of North Malabar are the well known *Tachôḷi Pâṭṭu,*[1] which take their name from the first songs singing the exploits of Tachôḷi Odênan, the Robin Hood of Malabar, whose adventures are still the favourite theme of the masses, and are sung with much enthusiasm. All popular songs similar in treatment have since been known as *Tachôḷi Pâṭṭu.*

These songs are also known as *Vaḍakkan Pâṭṭu* or the Songs of North Kerala. They correspond to the ballads of English literature singing the praises of national heroes, throwing a flood of light on the customs, manners and institutions of the peoples of the time. The song narrated here describes a family dispute in high life, incidentally singing the prowess and valour of Valia Ârômaṟ Chêkavaṟ.

The old *Kaimâḷ*[2] of Kurungaṭṭiḍem[3] in Prajâpatinâḍ in his sixty-fourth year, sick of domestic worries resolves to set out on a pilgrimage. Putting on the robes of a *sannyâsî* he calls his nephew Uṇikkônâṟ, and handing over the keys to him, charges him to conduct the household affairs. Similarly he summons his other nephew Uṇichandṟôṟ and addresses him :—

Onninḍu kêlkêṇam Uṇichandṟôrê[4]	Just listen Uṇichandṟôṟ.
Niṅṅal Tammilulḷa mûpiḷama	The question of seniority[5] between you two,
Atukoṇḍu niṅṅal piṇaṅṅarutu	Do not be quarrelling on that account.
Âṇmakkalonnum enikillallo	Sons have I none ;
Penmakkal raṇḍê enikatulḷu	Only daughters two have I.
Marumakkal raṇḍu pêṟ niṅṅaḷum	You two are my nephews,
Niṅṅalku puḍavayum muṟichiṭṭilla	And you have not had *puḍamuri*[6] yet.
Niṅṅalku karuti irikunnu ñân	I have reserved them for you.
Avaṟku kaṟivan mutaluṇḍallo	For their livelihood, wealth and property they have ;
Avareniṅṅaḷum oṟikkarutu	You should not divorce them.
Mêlûrum kîṟûrum raṇḍuvîḍu	Mêlûr and Kîṟûr are my two houses ;
Kîṟûriḍattil Uṇikkônârum	Uṇikkônâr in Kîṟûr house,
Mêlûriḍattil Uṇichandṟôrum	And Uṇichandṟôṟ in Mêlûṟ.
Aṅṅine niṅṅal irunnukolḷu	Thus shall you live.
Vênḍum vidhattil kaṟiññukolḷu	Make yourself happy.
Paṟayêṇḍatokke paṟaññu ñânum	I have said all I have to say.

[1] Cf. P. Govinda Pillai, *History of the Malayalam Language and Literature*, vol. I, pp. 104 to 109.

[2] A chief. Duarte Barbosa records (Hak. Soc. edn., vol. II, p. 13) that during the thirteen days following the death of the Zamorin of Calicut, the Kaimâḷ governed the kingdom.

[3] Though these places cannot be exactly identified, there is no doubt they are all in Kuṟumbranâḍ *taluk* in North Malabar.

[4] For the sake of uniformity and scientific accuracy, Grierson's system of transliteration has been uniformly adopted. The transliteration of certain words will thus be observed to be different from the transliteration ordinarily adopted.

[5] The question as to who is the elder, and who should succeed the old man as the *Kaimâḷ*.

[6] The principal form of marriage among the Nâyars, the essential part of which is the gift of cloth by the bridegroom to the bride. The insight this gives into the matriarchal organization of the Nâyar society in these early days is remarkable—society being at once matrilineal and matrilocal.

Paninîrum tannêyum pôôśunnuṇḍu	Rose water is sprayed over,
Viṟâḷippaṭṭil potiññu keṭṭi	And the body is covered with costly silk,
Ammâvane tanne iṭuttavarum	And carried
Choṭalayil tanne vekkunnuṇḍu	And placed upon the pyre.
Atutâne kânunnu mahâjanaṅṅaḷ	All the men assembled witness this
Eṇṇayum neyyum oṟichchavar	And pour oil and *ghî* over the pyre,
Choṭalayum katti eriññupôyi	Which is set on fire and is well burnt.
Annatte karmam kaṟichavarum	Thus performing the ceremonies of the day,
Vannajanaṅṅal Mahajanaṅṅaḷ	The men assembled
Okkeyum tanne piriññupôyi	All disperse.

Uṇikkônâṟ exhorts Uṇichandṟôṟ that they must perform the obsequies with befitting pomp, and all friends and relations are accordingly informed of the date of the seventh day ceremony. On that day men assemble from all parts, and the ceremonies begin with the rites at the cremation ground. Uṇikkônâṟ begins to collect the bones, when Uṇichandṟôṟ claims precedence on grounds of seniority, and a quarrel soon develops. No settlement of the dispute being in sight, the elders decide to consult the mothers, who on being called are unable to solve the question, saying that as they were in the throes of labour they had no recollection as to who was born first. The midwife is then sent for, and she deposes that Uṇikkônâṟ was born at night and Uṇichandṟôṟ the next morning. The latter not being prepared to accept this verdict, the bitterness increases. A compromise is, however, arrived at to enable the rites to be proceeded with, and the ceremonies of the sixteenth day are also performed peacefully, both exercising equal privileges. The ceremonies, however, by no means ended the strife, which was carried on with great malice by Uṇichandṟôṟ. As an instance of the ridiculous extent to which Uṇichandṟôṟ carried the feud, is mentioned his prevailing on a fisherman of the place to send as a gift of fish to Uṇikkônâṟ, the fins, entrails, head and tail of a fish made up into a bundle. Uṇikkônâṟ's mother, glad at the gift of fish, takes a vessel and the fish knife and unties the bundle, when she is shocked to see the contents. She calls her son and rebukes him. The latter at once runs to the fisherman and belabours him for his wanton insult. The wife of the fisherman hastens to Uṇichandṟôṟ and begs for protection. Uṇichandṟôṟ rallies his men and goes to fight against Uṇikkônâṟ. Both sides lose heavily, and the matter reaches the ears of the *nâḍuvâṟi* and *dêśavâṟi*, who appear on the scene. Unable to effect a reconciliation, the *nâḍuvâṟi* pronounces that a settlement being impossible, the decision will be left to the judgment of God, and accordingly declares that a packet of gold and a packet of silver will be kept on the threshold of the temple of Trippankkôtappen, and whoever goes blindfold and takes the gold packet will rule as the elder and whoever gets the silver packet will be the younger. When everything is ready, Uṇichandṟôṟ rushes and takes one of the packets which turns out to be silver. Mortified at this, he ascribes his discomfiture to the partiality of the god, saying that whether he got the silver or the gold packet he is the elder. Failing in this the *nâḍuvâṟi* awards the final verdict, that the dispute shall be fought out at an *aṅgam*,[13] and directs each party to collect combatants to fight for their cause :—

Nallaṅga chêkavaṟe[14] têḍikkoḷvin	Be on the look out for competent *chêkavaṟs*.
Aṅgampiṭichchu jeyikkunnôṟkku	Whoever wins in the *aṅgam* or fight
Annette muppâṭum vâṇirikkâm	He shall rule as the elder.

(*To be continued.*)

[13] *Aṅgam*, 'fight,' 'battle,' 'duel,' 'challenge.' Duel as the ordeal for Nâyars was a royal privilege for which each combatant had to pay; sometimes fought by hired champions. (Gundert : *A Malayalam and English Dictionary*, p. 7.) The fight which is the subject of this story is of the latter type, as it is fought by champions engaged by either party. The *aṅgam* is further described below.

[14] *Chêkavaṟ*.—From Malayâlam *chêkam, sêvam, sêvakam*, 'service,' chiefly about the king's person (one of the Iḷavar caste). [Gundert, p. 388.]

LALLÂ-VÂKYÂNI.

(*The Wise Sayings of Lal Dĕd.*)

BY PANDIT ANAND KOUL, SRINAGAR, KASHMIR.

(*Continued from vol. LX, p. 193.*)

11.

Lĕka ta thuka pĕth sheri hĕtsam ;
Nindâ sapanim pat bronth tâni.
Lal chas kal zâh no tshĕnim ;
Ada yĕli sapanis vipihey kyâh ?
I received abuse and spittle on my head ;
I was defamed from past to present.
I am Lallâ ; desire never got torn away from me,
When I became [perfect] what could then be contained in me ? (i.e., nothing could then produce any effect on me).

12.

Lolaki wukhala wâlinj pishim ;
Kukal tsajim tah rûzas rasa.
Buzum ta zâjim pânas tsashim,
Kava zâna tava sati mara kina lasa ?
Buy nâ muyas, ta buy nâ mara
Yĕli achiv dîshit kanav bûzit keṅh bhâva.
I ground my heart in the mortar of love ;
Evil desire left me and I remained calm.
I parched and burned it (i.e., the heart) [and] tasted it myself ;
How can I know whether I shall live or die by it ?
I did not die, and I will not die
When I reveal anything of what I heard by [my] ears and saw with [my] eyes.

Really, Lallâ's Words have rendered her immortal !

13.

Mandachi hâṅkal kar tshĕnĕm ?
Yĕli hĕḍun, gelun, asun prâva.
'Aruk jâma karsana dazĕm ?—
Yĕli andrim khâryuk rozĕm wâra.
Rut ta krûth soruy pazĕm,
Kanan na bozun achin na bhâva.
Oruk dapun yĕli wunda wuzĕm,
Ratandîp prazalĕm warzana wâva.
When will the chain of my bashfulness break ?
When I shall bear reproaches, gibes [and] jeers.
When will the garment of my bashfulness burn ?
When my inner nag (i.e., mind) will remain quiet.
All good and bad may befall me,
The ears not to hear [and] eyes not to see.
When the call of that side (i.e., God) will be heard in my mind,
My lamp will burn by not exposing it to the wind.

14.

Mithyâ, kapaṭ, asat trovum—
Manas kurum suy opadesh.
Zanas andar keval zonum ;
Annas khĕnas kus chum dísh.

I gave up falsehood, deceit [and] untruth—
The same doctrine I taught my mind.
Of mankind I knew Him alone ;
What hatred [then] have I in eating the food ? (i.e., none).

15.

Oṁay akuy akshar purum,
Suy, ha mâli, ruṭum wundas manz ;
Suy, ha mâli, kanĕh pĕṭh gurum ta tsurum,
Âsas sâs ta sapanis sun.

I read one single word, Om,
The same, O father, I grasped in mind ;
The same, O father, I forged and shaped upon a stone,
I was ashes and became gold.

16.

Parum polum ; apuruy purum,
Kesari wana wolum raṭit shâl ;
Paras prunum ta pânas polum,
Ada gom ma'lûm ta zînim hâl.

I acted up to what I read ; I read (i.e., was revealed to me) what was unread ;
I brought down the lion (i.e., mind) from the forest (i.e., worldly temptations) subdued [like] a jackal.
I preached to others and practised myself,
Then I became aware and won the polo ball (i.e., achieved success).

17.

Parun sulab pâlun durlab.
Sahaz gârun sukshm ta krûṭh.
Abhyâsaki ghaniray ; shâstr muṭhum,
Tsetan Ânand niscey gom.

Reading is easy [but] acting up to it is difficult.
To search out the Real and True (i.e., God) is subtle and difficult.
I forgot the scriptures ; by excessive practice,
The Living Bliss (i.e., God) became assured to me.

18.

Sahanaki sali la yudway mal kâsak,
Âsak aina khuta prazlawun shîna khuta prun.
Pânay marak pânay lasak ;
Lâgak un, zor, kol ta run.
Shivas satin yĕli kathan rasak,
Shiv chuk pânay thav pritshun.

If thou dispelleth dirt by the water of suffering,
Thou shalt be more glittering than a mirror [and] fairer than snow.
At thy will thou wilt die ; at thy will thou wilt live ;
Thou wilt pretend to be blind, deaf, dumb and limbless.
When thou wilt revel in talk with Śiva,
Thou art thyself Śiva ; stop inquiring.

19.

Shuṅyuk maidân kuḍum pânas ;
Me Lali rûzam na budh na hosh.
Bhediy sapanis pânay pânas ;
Ada kami gili phul Lali pamposh.
I traversed a wilderness of void alone ;
I, Lallâ, had neither intellect nor sense,
I myself became acquainted with Self ;
Then from what a clay did the lotus bloom for Lallâ (i.e., then what a transformation for the best occurred to Lallâ).

20.

Shishiras wuth kus raṭey ?
Kus bokey raṭey wâw ?
Yus pâṅts yindrey tsĕlit tseṭey,
Suy raṭey ghaṭey rav.
Who can catch water dripping from the roof during a hard frost ?
Who can catch wind with the hand ?
One who can pound hard the five senses (i.e., subdue them),
That one can catch the sun in darkness (i.e., can realize God).

21.

Shiv chuy thali thali rozân ;
Mo zân Hindu ta Musalmân.
Truk ay chuk ta pân panun parzanâv,
Sŏy chay Sâhibas sati zâniy zân.
Śiva pervades every place ;
Do not differentiate between Hindu and Musalmân (i.e., be not a bigot).
If thou art intelligent, recognise thine own self,
That is the true acquaintance with God.

22.

Shiva, Shiva, karân Shiv no toshey ;
Gĕv kandi zalak manas Suh âsey.
Gĕv diũ dĕhas, dĕh dur âsey ;
Gĕv nay dĕhas dik, di wari kaṅsey.
Śiva will not be pleased by thy muttering "Śiva, Śiva!";
Like clarified butter thou shalt glisten if He be in thy mind.
Give clarified butter to thine own body, [then] thy body will become strong ;
If thou wilt not give clarified butter to thine own body, better give it to some one else.

23.

Tala chuy zyus tay pĕṭha chuk natsân ;
Wanta mâli man kyetha patsân chuy.
Soruy sumbrith yĕti chuy mutsân ;
Wanta mâli ann kyetha rotsân chuy.
Beneath thee is a pit over which thou art dancing ;
Tell me, O father, how thy mind trusts it.
Everything amassed remains behind here ;
Tell me, O father, how food agreeth with thee.

24.

Tana mana gayĕs bu tas kuny ;
Bûzum satic ghanṭa wazân ;
Tat jâyi dhâranây dhâran raṭam ;
Âkâsh ta prakâsh kurum sarah.

I turned towards Him with body and mind ;
I heard the bell of truth ringing ;
I held meditation with firmness on that spot ;
I realized the sky and the light.[4]

25.

Tĕmbara pĕyas kava no tsâjin ?
Mas ras kava ohonâjin gos ?
Shântĕn hanz kriy tola mola wâjin
Andrim gwâh yĕli nĕbar pyos.

A spark fell on him ; why could he not bear it ?
Why did wine-juice go down his throat ?
He depreciated the weight and value of the practice of the saints
Since his inner radiance gleamed forth.[5]

26.

Tim chi na manash, tim chiy Rishiy,
Yiman dĕh manah nishi gav.
Baḍit ta buḍit byâk kyâh rachiy ?
Phuṭimatis bânas piyi gĕv.

They are not human beings, they are saints,
By whose mind the body has been forgotten.
What ! will a stranger support thee after growing up and getting old ?
Clarified butter shall spill out from thy broken pot.

27.

Tyṭh mudur tay myûṭh zahr :
Yes yuth tshanuk jatanbhav ;
Yami yath karay kal ta qahr,
Suh tath shahr wâtit pĕv.

Bitter (i.e., control of senses) is sweet ; sweet (i.e., gratification of senses) is poison :
Exertion of whatsoever nature fell to one's lot (i.e., it fell to one's choice to decide between the two) ;
Whoever desired and persevered [to reach a certain city],
He did reach that city.

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[4] A Yogi hears a sound in the interior of his body when the exercise of *prânâyâma* has loosened the *brahma-granthi*, or knot of Brahma, in the *anâhata* circle, and then he, through the void of his own internal universe, obtains a glimpse of the Supreme Light.

[5] Saints walking in higher spheres remain in communion with God. In their eyes every action tending to personal worldly aggrandizement sullies the true love of God. They, therefore, look with disfavour towards those who work miracles. This Saying was regretfully quoted by Rûpa Bhawânî in her childhood when she saw the saint Ṛiṣhi Pîr performing miracles.

MISCELLANEOUS.

INDIA IN CURRENT LITERATURE.

Journal Asiatique.—In the July-September 1930 issue of this journal (tome CCXVII, pp. 135-36) there is an interesting note by M. Robert Fazy on 'An Eclipse in the Time of Aśoka.' In the *Si-yu-ki* Hsüan-tsang has told us that Aśoka expressed to Upagupta his desire that the relics of the Buddha should be deposited in the 84,000 *stûpas* throughout Jambudvîpa at the same moment. According to Beal's translation, Upagupta said: "Command the genii to go each to his appointed place and regard the sun. When the sun becomes obscured and its shape as if a hand covered it, then is the time: drop the relics into the *stûpas.* The king having received these instructions, gave orders accordingly to the genii to expect the appointed day." M. Fazy points out that, according to Oppolzer's *Kanon der Finsternisse* (1887), there was an eclipse of the sun on 4 May 248 B.C., which, according to information supplied him by M. Raoul Gautier, Director of the Observatory, Geneva, would be visible as a total eclipse in the valley of the Ganges from 3 to 4 p.m. that day. M. Fazy remarks that Hsüan-tsang's story might have been based on oral tradition current in Magadha, or possibly on recorded tradition, which may yet be rediscovered from Hindu or, more probably, Chinese sources. He adds that there is no *a priori* ground for holding that it was impossible for a learned Hindu of the third century B.C. to predict an eclipse. If this be admitted, the tradition recorded by Hsüan-tsang may have been founded on fact. The correspondence between the tradition narrated by the Chinese pilgrim and the fact of an eclipse, visible at Pâṭaliputra, having taken place in the year 248 B.C. may, as M. Fazy notes, not only furnish confirmation of the tradition, but also help to determine the approximate date of Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism and his solemn pilgrimage to the spots most sacred to the memory of the great teacher, which must have taken place before the erection of the *stûpas* and the deposit of the relics. It will be remembered that Vincent Smith assigns the pilgrimage to the year 249 B.C. (*E.H.I.*, 4th ed., p. 167.)

Rivista degli Studi Orientali.—In vol. XII (1930) fasc. IV, pp. 408-27, will be found two interesting notes by Prof. Giuseppe Tucci on Indian subjects, viz. (1) the *Purâṇapañcalakṣaṇa*, and (2) Traces of Lunar Cult in India.

In (1) the author emphasizes the importance of having critically edited editions prepared of the individual Purâṇas before we can hope to have a critical and definite text of the *pâñcalakṣaṇa* or of any other part of the Purâṇas. The discussion leads him on to certain related topics, e.g., the correspondence between the names in lists of countries and kings in the Chinese and Tibetan translations of the Buddhist literature with those found in the Purâṇas and epics, which he deals with at some length, and the meaning of the term *pratisarga*, which recurs as one of the subjects treated of in the Purâṇa. Pargiter (*Anc. In. Historical Tradition*, p. 36) expressed the sense of *pratisarga* by 'dissolution and re-creation.' Prof. Tucci gives reasons for rejecting the sense of 'dissolution' and understanding it to mean 'further creation' or 're-creation.'

(2) While sun worship was widely spread in India, it does not appear that the moon was ever raised to the rank of an independent divinity, or that it ever had its own temples and its own devotees. Prof. Tucci points out that there is, however, a slight trace of connexion between the moon and female divinities, e.g., in the case of Devî in her forms of Durgâ, Kâlî, etc., and especially in that of Tripurasundarî. He adduces some interesting arguments that go to show that in one of her aspects the cult of Devî had continued and assimilated ancient lunar cults, for example, in the regulation of the different forms of, and times for, the *pûjâ* strictly according to the *tithis*, or lunar days. According to the *Saubhâgya-bhâskara* of Bhâskara Râya, the *pûjâ* to Tripura must commence with the first day of the new moon and last throughout the fifteen days of the *śukla pakṣa*, ending on the full-moon day. It requires the presence of 16 Brâhmaṇs, each of whom represents a *tithi* or one of the *kalâs* or 16 aspects of the goddess in her form of Nityâṣoḍaśî (=Tripurasundarî), and each of whom is invoked with a *mantra* that varies according to the *tithi* he is supposed to represent, in other words each receives a name equivalent to that of the goddess corresponding to a certain *tithi*. This particular form of Tripurasundarî *pûjâ* performed with Brâhmaṇs, Prof. Tucci suggests, probably does not represent the most ancient form of the cult, being due perhaps to the ever increasing importance which the Brâhmaṇs arrogated; possibly also it was devised to evade accusations made by followers of other schools against a different, but certainly older, ceremonial in the cult of the goddess. It cannot, therefore, be asserted that the *pûjâ* with Brâhmaṇs excluded or supplanted the original *Kumârî-pûjâ*, the existence of which is well documented. Signor Tucci next draws attention to the *Rudrayâmala* and *Bṛhannîla tantras*, wherein is described the *Kumârî-pûjâ*, that is, *pûjâ* to a girl supposed to symbolize the goddess, which plays so large a part in the Tântric ceremonial of the Śâkta school. This *pûjâ* should be spread uniformly over the 15 days of the *śukla pakṣa*, beginning on the new-moon day and ending with the full-moon. Instead of the 16 Brâhmaṇs enjoined in the ritual described by Bhâskara Râya, there are 16 *kumârîs*, who represent the 16 *tithis* and the 16 aspects of the goddess. Moreover, the 16 *kumârîs* must be

worshipped *vṛddhibhedena*, i.e., in order of their age ('growth,' or 'augmentation'), or, in other words, in the order of the *kalâs* of the crescent moon: and so on. This *pûjâ* with the 16 Brâhmaṇs and the 16 maidens, occupying the period of the *śukla pakṣa* or crescent moon, is the more important in that it has its counterpart in the well known ceremonies connected with divinities representing periodic forces and destined to promote increase and development.

Prof. Tucci goes on to discuss the system of computation by fours and multiples of four, of which so many examples are to be found in the ritualistic and mystic literature of the *Tantras*, and whether 4 or 16 is the basic number underlying the system. If computation by 16 be connected with lunar elements, then the basic number cannot be 4. He points out that classification by fours is widely attested in the literature of the *Vedas* and *Brâhmaṇas*, and that it seems to have been the more common in the beginning. Considering that a base number is generally derived from some concrete object or objects which visibly present it, he hazards the suggestion that a base of 4 might have been adopted from the four feet of the cow or ox. While agreeing that the basic number is more likely to have been 4 than 16, we feel that its use goes farther back than the times when the cow or ox assumed such importance. We might draw attention perhaps in this connexion to the combinations of four so frequently noticeable on the seals and inscriptions found at ancient sites in the Indus basin and in Elam, and in the ornamentation of some of the oldest pottery. It is remarkable, it may be added, to what an extent counting by four (the *gaṇḍâ*) is still followed among the rural and illiterate folk of northern India.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1931. —This number starts with a paper by Pandit B. N. Reu on a *sanad* granted by Shâh 'Âlam II to Mahârâja Bijay Singh of Mârwâṛ, from which it would appear that the village of Râisinâ, where New Delhi has now been built, was for long in the possession of the Mahârâjas of Jodhpur as *jâgîr*. Mr. E. H. Johnston contributes a series of useful and suggestive notes on a number of Pâli words, the meanings of which have been regarded as doubtful, or which have been misunderstood hitherto. M. Fabri of Leyden, in two brief 'Notes on Indian Head-dress,' emphasizes the importance of studying costume and fashions in head-dress, etc., and indicates by certain examples how an examination of these details may assist in dating sculpture. He proposes to pursue this subject in a subsequent discussion of the coiffures represented on some frescoes at Ajanta.

M. Jean Przyluski, in one of his fascinating etymological papers entitled 'Varuṇa, god of the sea and the sky,' proposes to derive the name Varuṇa from a Palæo-Asiatic root *bar*. enlarged in the Austro-Asiatic languages to *baru*, capable of meaning 'sea,' etc., with the addition of a suffix *-na* (as in the case of *patana*, 'city,' dealt with by him in a previous paper in *Rocznik Orjentalistyczny*, V, 174 f.). He further shows how the word may be equated with the Hittite *aruna*, 'sea,' and the god Aruna, who, in the treaty between the Hittite and Mitanni kings found at Boghazkoi, occupies the place of Varuṇa. Incidentally M. Przyluski regards the first part of the name Bharukaccha, one of the ancient names of Broach, as having the same origin. If this be so, perhaps the legend associating it with Bhṛgu may merit further investigation. (Did the Bhârgavas, who are so widely associated with this region, come from over sea ?)

Dr. C. O. Blagden presents a translation of a valuable little grammatical sketch of the Ple-Tĕmer dialect of Sakai, spoken in the interior of the Malay peninsula; and Mr. Raghu Vira discusses the lost phonetic *sûtras* of Pâṇini, seeking to establish, by a comparison of the *Śikṣâ* discovered by Svâmî Dayânanda in 1879 with Candragomin's *Varṇa-sûtras*, that the latter were based upon the *Śikṣâ*.

Readers of the *I.A.* will perhaps be most interested at the present time in perusing two other short notes, the one by Prof. S. Langdon on 'A New Factor in the Problem of Sumerian Origins,' and the other by Prof. Pran Nath of the Hindu University, Benares, on 'The Script of the Indus Valley Seals.' Prof. Langdon prints a photograph of a seal recently found at Hursagkalamma, Kish, dating from about 2800 B.C., in all respects similar to the seals discovered at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, and raises the questions whether the Sumerians are not really the Indus Valley people themselves, or whether the painted ware civilization came from India and found the Sumerian people in the land. Prof. Pran Nath, who has been making a close study of the seals found in the Panjâb and Sind, has been led to the conclusion that what have hitherto been regarded as pictographs or ideographs are in fact letters or characters (*akṣaras*) closely connected with the Brâhmî characters, which were probably evolved from them. He publishes a very tentative 'Key' to the script on the seals, and some selected inscriptions with his proposed decipherment in Devanâgarî characters beneath. We understand that he proposes, in view of further researches, to publish shortly an amended and amplified table, which will be awaited with the greatest interest. He was induced to publish his suggestions at this early stage of his work, he tells us, "by the hope that they may stimulate other scholars to follow up the clues offered and so lead eventually to the complete decipherment of the seals." We hope that a ready response will be given to this appeal. Dr. Pran Nath's suggestions open up a wide vista, and if he has caught the right trail, and this can be followed up by experts in Sumerian, Irânian and Sanskrit lore,

a new epoch may be started in the history of Oriental research.

Archiv Orientální (Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute, Prague), vol. II (1930-31).—In continuation of his shorter Sinhalese studies on demon worship and the seven-step ritual in Ceylon, which appeared in vol. I, Dr. O. Pertold publishes in parts 1, 2 and 3 of this volume a monograph on 'The Ceremonial Dances of the Sinhalese: an Inquiry into the Sinhalese Folk-Religion,' illustrated by numerous plates and figures in the text, mostly showing the different forms of masks used at these ceremonies. The paper is the result not only of personal inquiry during visits to Ceylon, but also of research in libraries where relevant literature could be found. Dr. Pertold has collected and classified all the material he could find, and has attempted to reconstruct the form of such ceremonies as have become obsolete. The subject has been treated in four parts, *viz.* (1) the non-masked dancing ceremonies (including those of the Väddas; (2) the masks, their fabric, types and use; (3) the *kôlam-nāṭima*, festive dance, or mask ceremony; and (4) the *yakun-nāṭima*, ceremonial demon dance, now generally performed with the object of curing diseases supposed to be caused by *yakâs*. Then follow the author's conclusions. The details are too many to be even summarized here; suffice it to say that this valuable contribution to our understanding of observances rooted in the dim past will appeal not only to students of Sinhalese and Vädda folklore, but also to a wider circle of readers; and the Indian student in particular will be struck by many parallels to practices and ceremonies followed in India and Tibet.

C. E. A. W. O.

MISCELLANEA.

KAPILENDRA AND KAPILEŚVARA OF ORISSA.

(A note of criticism on the late Mr. R. D. Banerji's article entitled "The Empire of Orissa," published *supra*, vol. LVII, p. 235 f., and vol. LVIII, pp. 28 f. and 61 f.)

By SRI LAKSHMINARAYAN HARICHANDAN JAGADEB, Raja Bahadur of Tekkali.

Some historians take the Orissa kings Kapilendra and Kapileśvara to be one and the same: but this is a mistake; they were two different kings, Kapiladeva, who reigned in 1435 A.D., is Kapileśvara, but not Kapilendra. Up to date about twenty inscriptions of Kapileśvara have been discovered, of which thirteen are at Mukhaliṅgam (Ganjam dist.) and the rest are at Puri, Siṁhachallam (Vizagapatam dist.) and other places. In all these inscriptions we find the name of Kapileśvara. If I were to go into the details of all the inscriptions this note would be unnecessarily lengthened; so I shall deal with them as briefly as possible. The following *aṅka* and Śâka years are mentioned :—

$\frac{19}{1472}$, $\frac{21}{1373}$, $\frac{22}{1373}$, $\frac{24}{1375}$, $\frac{24}{1376}$, $\frac{25}{1377}$, $\frac{27}{1377}$, $\frac{31}{1381}$, $\frac{32}{1382}$, $\frac{35}{1385}$, $\frac{38}{1386}$, $\frac{41}{1388}$, etc.[1]

The above figures are the reigning *aṅka* and Śâka years found in the inscriptions, of which the numerators are *aṅka* and the denominators are Śâka years. To show that we find Kapileśvara named in the inscriptions, I give below quotations from some of the inscriptions found at different places.

श्री शैललिपि "श्रीराजधिरामाश्रितप्रचण्डमेरुदण्ड परमोत्तराजराजेश्वर परमेश्वर गजपतिगउड़ेश्वर नवकोटी कर्णाटेश्वर श्रीकलवर्गेश्वर श्री वीरश्री गजपति कपिले-श्वर देवमहाराजाकुर"—इत्यादि.[2]

मखलिङ्ग लिपि "श्री श्री श्री तेरशतछड़ उत्तरसप्तति मिते शालिवाहन शक १३७६ संवत्सरे वीरश्री गजपति गउड़ेश्वरप्रताप कपिलेश्वर महाराजाकुर विजयराज्ये समस्त २४ आहे"[3]

अनन्तवर्म लिपि "तदीय वंशे तदनुप्रतापांश्चिरस्य राजा कपिलेश्वराह्वयः"—इत्यादि.[4]

पेद्धापुरं लिपि बहुधान्यसम्वत्सर ज्येष्ठ व १३ कपिले-श्वर महाजल राज्यान"—इत्यादि.[5]

........."स्वस्तिश्री शकवर्षम्बुलु......आगुनेण्टशो-मकृत संवत्सर कार्त्तिक शु ६ गौड कपिलेश्वर महारायल राज्यान"—इत्यादि.[6]

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[1] $\frac{19}{1472}$ *South Indian Inscriptions*, text, vol. V, No. 101.
$\frac{21}{1373}$ *Ibid.*, vol. V, R. A., No. 317.
$\frac{22}{1373}$ *Mukur Magazine*, vol. XII, parts 2 and 3.
$\frac{24}{1376}$ *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, vol. III, parts 2, 3 and 4.
$\frac{25}{1377}$ *South Indian Inscriptions*, text, vol. V, R. A., No. 313.
$\frac{27}{1377}$ Śrî Kurman Rock Inscription, as read by me.
$\frac{31}{1381}$ *Mukur*, vol. XII, parts 2 and 3.
$\frac{32}{1382}$ *South Indian Inscriptions*, text, vol. V, R. A., No. 284.
$\frac{35}{1385}$, $\frac{38}{1386}$ *Mukur*, vol. XII, parts 2 and 3.
$\frac{41}{1388}$, *Mukur*, vol. XII, parts 2 and 3.

[2] Śrîśailam inscription.

[3] *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, vol. III, parts 2, 3 and 4.

[4] Anantavarma copper-plate grant published in the *Andhra Patrika Sanchika*.

[5] *South Indian Inscriptions*, text, vol. V, No. 100.

[6] *Ibid.*, No. 101.

पुरीमन्दिर लिपि " श्री वीरप्रताप कपिलेश्वर नवकोटी-कर्णाटीस्कलवर गजपति गौडेश्वर देव महाराजाङ्क— इत्यादि.[7]

" विरश्री प्रताप कपिलेश्वरदेव महाराजाङ्करविजय-राज्येसमस्त ३४ अङ्क "—इत्यादि.[8]

वीरश्री गजपति गउडेश्वर प्रताप कपिलेश्वरदेव महा-राजाङ्कर विजयशुभराज्ये १९ अङ्क " इत्यादि.[9]

पालकाध्याये " पञ्चाग्निशरवेदाब्दे ४५३५ गते कलि-युगस्यच उदरेशोतु विख्यातो नृपोऽसुत्कपिलेश्वरः "[10]

In many inscriptions, Kapiladeva of the solar race is named Kapileśvara. We do not find the name Kapilendra in any of the corresponding inscriptions.

In such case I cannot understand how the learned Professor R. D. Banerji, in his article on the Empire of Orissa, took Kapilendra and Kapileśvara to be one and the same. Can evidence be cited from contemporary inscriptions to prove that Kapiladeva of the solar race is also called Kapilendra ?

About 120 years previous to the reign of Kapileśvara of the solar race, there was a king of the Gaṅga dynasty by name Kapilendra. He was the eldest son of the Orissan king Laṅgula Narasiṁhadeva. As to this many quotations and facts have been supplied by my friend Mr. Gopabandhu Bidyabhushan, who has dealt with the subject minutely in the Oriya Journal, *Samavayuprabha*, vol. II, part 4. So I refrain from going into details. I have given a detailed history of Kapileśwar in my Andhra University Extension lecture on "Kapileśwar Deb," which is published in the Oria Magazine, *Sahakar*, vol. XI, Parts 7, 8, 9 and 10. Can it be justifiable to disbelieve these numerous historical facts ? The learned professor says that Kapileśvaradeva reigned in 1435-1470 A.D. A famous scholar, Sarvajya Jagannath Narayan Deb, says in his *Palakádhyâya* (an authoritative work) :—

" शाके गजाष्टविश्वोनः समा गजपतेस्तथा
शाकेष्वङ्कर्षाब्ध चन्द्रोनः प्रतापस्यच वत्सराः "

From the above quotation, it is clear that the Orissa king Purushottamadeva reigned from 1388 to 1425 S.S., or 1466 to 1503 A.D. This shows that the reign of Kapileśvara had come to an end by 1466 A.D. This may also be inferred from the inscriptions of the reign of Purushottamadeva, son of Kapileśvara, in which the following *aṅka* and Śâka years are found. $\frac{4}{1390}$, $\frac{7}{1392}$, $\frac{19}{1402}$, $\frac{34}{1415}$, $\frac{37}{1417}$ [11] (numerators represent the *aṅka* years and the denominators the Śâka years). How could both Kapileśvara and his son Purushottamadeva reign together in the same years ? If we fix 1388 S.S. as the first year of Purushottamadeva's reign, the *aṅka* years of Purushottamadeva will be found to fit in. I have gone through many of the ancient inscriptions in order to ascertain the ruling years of Kapileśvara and his son Purushottamadeva, and I am confident of the result.

In Utkal, after the close of the Gaṅga dynasty, the Solar dynasty reigned. It is true that all the legitimate sons of Kapilendradeva (also called Kapileśvaradeva), who reigned as emperor of Orissa from 1383 to 1386 A.D., were expelled by their father. These sons, who were driven away, settled in distant places. If they had been the descendants of Kapileśvara of the solar race, they, too, would have belonged to the Solar dynasty. Since, however, they were the sons of the Gaṅga emperor Kapilendradeva (also called Kapileśvaradeva) they were known as of the Gaṅga dynasty. There is an era known as Kapilâbda, which started from the time of the reign of Kapileśvara of the solar race. At the current time, the Kapilâbda year is reckoned to be 494. This means that Kapileśvara of the solar race ascended the throne 494 years ago, i.e., in 1436-37 A.D. If we cannot rely upon the *madalapanji* and the inscriptions and upon the early writers of our own country, it is not understood why we should regard the contents of the *Burhân-i-ma 'âsir* as infallible.

Kapilendra had a son named Purushottamadeva ; Kapileśvara also had a son named Purushottamadeva. As both had sons bearing the same name, as both sat upon the throne of Orissa, and as Kapila is common to both names, many historians have mistaken them for one and the same person. But Kapilendra was a monarch of the Gaṅga dynasty, while Kapileśvara was a king of the solar race, and there was, moreover, an interval of some hundred years between their reigns. They must, therefore, have been quite distinct.

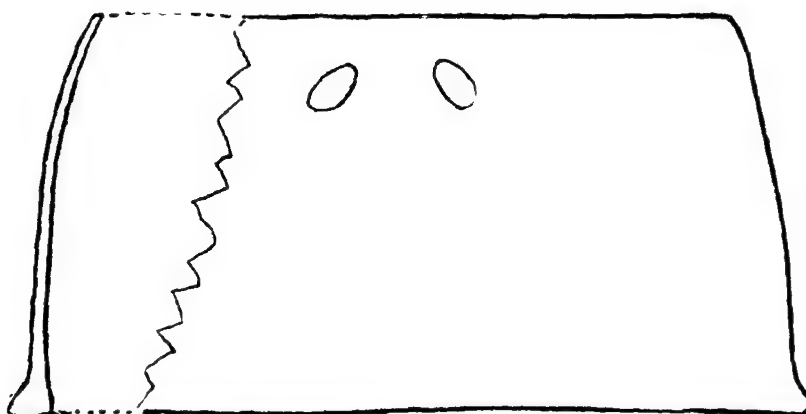
[7] *Vide Three Temples* (in Bengali), by Gurudas Sirkar, M.A., B.C.S.

[8] *Ibid.*

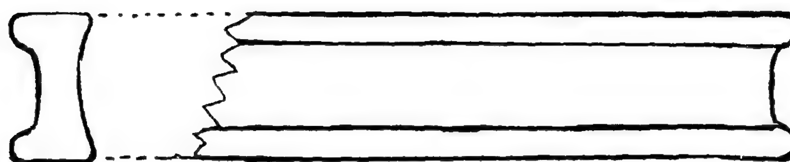
[9] *Ibid.*

[10] Palm leaf manuscript.

[11] $\frac{4}{1390}$. See Peddapur inscription published in *Three Temples*, by Gurudas Sirkar.
$\frac{7}{1392}$, $\frac{19}{1402}$. *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. V, text.
$\frac{34}{1415}$. See Peddapur inscription, *loc. cit.*
$\frac{37}{1417}$. *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. V, text.



(*a*) Pallava type of well ring



(*b*) Modern type of well ring

ROUGH SKETCH SHOWING PALLAVA TYPE OF WELL RING
AS COMPARED WITH MODERN TYPE

ANCIENT SOAK-PITS AT CHETPUT, MADRAS.

BY L. A. CAMMIADE.*

ON visiting the old and now exhausted brick fields at Chetput in the town of Madras, I noticed amidst broken tiles, rejected bricks and other refuse of the kilns, a few fragments of pottery of urn-burial types. A search showed that these fragments were to be found over an area of about ten acres, scattered at the bottom of the clay pits at a depth of about 15 to 20 feet below the present ground level. The occurrence of ancient pottery at such a depth was rather puzzling until further search showed that the fragments were derived from the bottom of silted-up wells. About twenty or thirty of these wells seem to have existed within the excavated area. Many of them had been completely destroyed, their sites being traceable only by the scattered fragments of pottery. In about twelve cases, however, the last three or four feet of the well-shaft had escaped destruction.

These wells were 24 to 30 inches in diameter. Their walls were of pottery $\frac{5}{8}$ inch thick, built up in sections about sixteen inches in height, flanged at the base and curved slightly inward at the upper end. Wells of this type are not made nowadays in Southern India. Pottery rings are still occasionally used for wells, but these are more massive, being two inches thick and only six inches high, with wide flanges at top and bottom. In modern ring-wells the sections rest one over the other, while in the older pottery wells the sections are loosely socketed. The segments of the old wells differ moreover from the rings of modern pottery wells in having two opposite pairs of eyelets, which seem to have been intended for ropes to lower the segments into position.

The old well segments were made of coarse clay mixed with chaff, the outer sides being plastered thickly with straw while the clay was still soft. The wells were sunk through the bed of brick clay into a subjacent bed of water-bearing sand. It was, therefore, not possible to clear them out completely owing to the inrush of water. In both the wells I was able to examine in detail there was about four feet of broken pottery mixed with bones. Among the pottery were fragments of large broad-mouthed pots of the usual urn types, and fragments of shallow oval or coffin-shaped troughs, about 24 to 30 inches in length,[1] besides quantities of lesser pottery and numerous fragments of broken well-rings. The fragments of the larger pottery recovered from the wells showed that they were derived from at least twelve different vessels having a mouth diameter ranging from 11 to 19 inches. There were also fragments of eight or ten still larger and more massive vessels with a rim diameter ranging from 22 to 32 inches, and also fragments of a large necked pot of unusual type about thirty inches in diameter, square-shouldered and with a vertical neck. Of the trough-shaped pottery, an almost complete specimen 24″ × 10″ × 5″ was found in one of the wells resting above the other pottery. Most of the smaller pots had globose bodies with narrow, vertical rimless necks. Pots of this type could not have been used for drawing water and must have been thrown in. Some of the vessels have six holes pierced at the base of their necks for suspension. Rimless bowl types were also frequent as well as fragments of shallow saucer-shaped vessels of the kind commonly found in the ancient burials. The latter were of somewhat larger size than is usual in the graves, having a diameter of fourteen inches. These small vessels were all of highly finished, polished black ware. Finally, there were fragments of polished red ring-stands about ten inches in diameter.

With regard to the relation of this domestic pottery to the funeral pottery it is to be noted that (1) I found no fragments of the small vessels, polished red outside and black inside, that is so characteristic of the urn burials of Southern India dating from Adichanallur upwards, although it is to be found abundantly on other village sites ; (2) the large ring-stands of red ware were highly polished and differed from the large unpolished ring-stands from certain

* Incorporating notes by K. de B. Codrington.

[1] Perambair, *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, 1908-09, Pl. xxxiii, fig. 2.

of the Deccan large stone-cist sites ; and (3) although all the well pottery consisted of types, the upper part of which had been wheel-thrown, while the lower parts were hand-fashioned (as with the bulk of the funeral pottery), certain fragments of types from the village site were completely wheel-thrown, having flat bottoms. Flat-bottomed pots from graves occur occasionally ; but they are always hand-finished. Hence the suggestion that the village site is slightly later than the soak-pits. Being some distance from them, it may have taken the place of a slightly earlier village in the immediate vicinity of the soak-pits. Indeed, about 150 yards to the east of the well area where the ground is full of *kankar* nodules, I found a few fragments including a typical pot-lid of the polished red-outside, black-inside ware mentioned above as being entirely absent from the village site.

The number and closely packed situation of the wells, their slight fabric and the pottery types found in them, show that they cannot have been draw-wells, but were undoubtedly soak-pits. The importance of these wares and pottery types is that they represent domestic pots of the urn and cist-burial period, a study of which has never been made. It is evident that the burial pottery contains a large number of domestic types.

It is obvious that these soak-pits must have been located very near the centre of the inhabited area. I examined carefully all the area in the immediate neighbourhood of the wells, especially the face of the cuttings for any trace of past human habitation, but found none. I discovered, however, that there was an ancient village site extending from the north-eastern corner of the brick-field across the Poonamalee road into a part of the property known as Landon's Garden. The site of the village was marked by a layer of broken pottery, which in places was three feet thick. Judging by the pottery, the village may have been contemporaneous with the wells or probably a little later. In this village area I found only one well, probably a draw-well. The site covered by the village has since been thickly built over. A comparison of the contents of the wells with the refuse in the village sites shows certain differences. On the village site the pottery is almost wholly of the commoner domestic kind, hardly any fragments of the larger and heavier types of vessels being found. It is interesting to note that the wells and the area as a whole contained quantities of buffalo, goat and chicken bones.

The existence of a cemetery was indicated by the occurrence *in situ* of a large, pyriform funeral urn of the Adichanallur and Wynad type and by the conical leg of an earthenware legged cist of the Perambair type. [A large cemetery of this type exists about half a mile away from the brick-field and only a short distance beyond Landon's Garden.]

In searching the immediate neighbourhood of the soak-pits I found :—

1. A small button-like ornament of gold about ¼ inch in diameter with a bridge or strap behind, showing that it must have been worn strung on a tape or sewn on to a garment.

2. A small earthenware bead similar to types found at Adichanallur, Tangal, etc.

3. A fragment of a semi-translucent apple-green bead.

4. A small spherical bead of opaque red glass of a type common at Tangal and throughout the ancient sites of Tinnevelly.

5. A fragment of a semi-opaque blue glass bi-cone bead, also a common type.

6. I also found in the face of the gravel-pits a small neatly ground celt of quartzite measuring 1⅛ inches in length and also a very clumsily flaked quartzite hand-axe.

7. During a second visit I found three fragments of pottery figurines in the area northwest of the settling-tanks in the heap of debris washed out of the clay. The first of these represented the left shoulder and the breast of a figurine showing a jewelled necklace, which consists of a double row of beads. The second represents the lower part of a very crudely made sitting figure. The third is too fragmentary to identify. The fabric of these fragments is very coarse and of a yellow-red colour.

To the east of the settling tanks the earth had been excavated to the depth of about twenty feet. At ground level the foundations of a demolished European bungalow could be seen; beneath which was a quantity of pottery fragments. The most important of these represents a seated figure, probably Śiva, in which case the missing right leg must have been pendant. The head had been broken off, but was found a few feet away from the torso. The fabric is of medium texture and yellow-red in colour. The figure has been moulded, and may be classed as Pallava, and dated about the eighth century A.D. It has since been acquired by the India Museum, South Kensington, and is now exhibited there. Very few Pallava terracottas of fine workmanship are known to exist; this figure therefore is of the greatest importance as a standard of comparison with the copper and bronze castings.[2]

NOTES ON INDIAN MAUNDS.

By W. H. MORELAND, C.S.I., C.I.E.

(*Continued from page 8.*)

VII. Bengal and Bihar Maunds.

I have failed to obtain any early data for the country between Agra and Bengal. The records of the English factory which was established at Patna in 1620 (*English Factories*, i, 191-283) show that silk was dealt in there by the ser of 34½ pice, which is contrasted with the ser of 30 pice (*i.e.*, the Akbarî) prevailing at Agra. This would give a maund of just under 64 lb., almost identical with the Bengal unit mentioned below; and it will be remembered that the silk came from Bengal, so that this may be the Bengal unit, used in Patna as a special maund for silk. In two places (pp. 205, 213) the figure is given as 33½; this may be a slip, or it may indicate a trade-allowance of one pice in the ser (compare the allowance of two pice in five sers mentioned by Pelsaert in the indigo-market of Bayâna). At the same time and place lignum aloes was sold by the ser of 33 pice (pp. 200, 258); this would give a maund of just 61 lb. The Jahângîrî was, however, already known in the market, for (p. 199) cartage was arranged in terms of it; and later records indicate that, so far as wholesale commerce was concerned, the local units gave way to the official maunds. Thus Peter Mundy [20] found that the ser was 37 pice, which must, I think, be the Jahângîrî of 36 pice with an allowance of one pice; while the Dutch records of somewhat later date use the Shâhjahânî.

The earliest information I have found regarding Bengal is in Nunez' *Book of Weights*. In the Porto Grande, that is to say, Chittagong and the Meghnâ estuary, the maund, of 40 sers, there given works out at just under 46½ lb. A maund of approximately this size (42 Holland pounds, or nearly 46 lb.) was the unit regularly employed in the next century in the Dutch factory at Arakan, which traded principally at Chittagong, and this unit may be accepted for the Meghnâ.

For the Porto Piqueno, that is Sâtgâoṅ and the Hûglî estuary, Nunez gives a figure which works out to 64·6 lb. We meet a maund of approximately this size at Balasore in 1642 (*English Factories*, vii, 72), when the freight on cloth was charged per maund of 64 lb.; on the same occasion, freight on sugar was charged per maund of 128 lb., obviously a double unit. Thus a maund of about 64 lb. is established for the Hûglî estuary in the sixteenth, and up to the middle of the seventeenth century. A little later we find the Shâhjahânî in use in this region (e.g., *Dagh Register*, 24th Feby. 1682).

A change, of which I have failed to trace a record, occurred subsequently. At the end of the eighteenth century, two units were current in Calcutta, the 'factory,' and the 'bazaar.' According to *Useful Tables* (i, 69), the bazaar maund was based on the Murshidâbâd rupee of

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[2] A description of this figure will be published separately.

[20] *Travels of Peter Mundy* (Hakluyt Society), ii, 156; there is an error of calculation in the footnote which makes the maund equal to 50 lb. Writing of the year 1671, John Marshall (ed. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Oxford, 1927) recorded a Patna maund of 80 lb., which I have not met elsewhere.

179·666 gr., 80 of which made a ser; the maund was thus 82 lb., and the standardisation effected in 1833 made only a trifling difference. The same authority says that the factory maund "would appear to have been adopted in 1787 to save calculation on the home remittances of produce, 3 factory maunds being almost exactly equal to 2 cwt."; the factory maund was thus 74⅔ lb. Information is wanting as to the origin of the bazaar maund. As to the factory maund, I think it may reasonably be taken as an adaptation of the Shâhjahânî, which, as has been said above, had come into use on the Hûglî; the slight increase of about 10 ounces would be a natural measure to simplify calculations, as suggested in *Useful Tables.*

While, however, the old 64 lb. maund had been superseded in Calcutta, it would appear to have survived in the mofassil. The Silberrad Committee reported (p. 37) that a ser of 60 standard tolas was currently used in retail trade in 16 districts of Bengal; this gives a maund of 62 lb., which may be explained conjecturally as a survival of the old unit, slightly modified so as to make use of a round number of the new rupee or tola-weights. I cannot, however, write with any confidence regarding retail maunds, each of which would have to be worked out on the spot; and I will merely suggest that some of them, though not all, are probably survivals of old units which have been superseded in wholesale trade as the result of official action. Apart from the 60-tola ser of Bengal, I may instance two retail maunds with which I was familiar twenty years ago in the central parts of the United Provinces, one containing 16, the other 20, standard sers. The first is almost exactly 33 lb., the second is 41 lb.; and if these are not survivals of the two Agra maunds recorded in the *Âîn-i Akbarî*, the coincidence is very remarkable. It will be noticed that in some cases of recorded standardisation the size of the maund was substantially increased, and probably the resulting sers were felt to be inconveniently large for ordinary retail transactions, so that mere inertia may not be the only reason for the survival of the older and smaller units.

VIII. Summary.

When we go behind the official maunds, we find the following units prevalent, though not necessarily to the exclusion of others, in wholesale commerce in different regions of India.

Region.	*lb.* (*rounded*).
South India (excluding the pepper ports)	23 to 27
Delhi	28 to 29
Gujarât	33
Agra and Central India	33 and 40
Bengal, near the Hûglî	64
East of the Meghnâ	46

Most, but by no means all, of the relevant passages found in the literature from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century can be interpreted satisfactorily in terms of these units.

Some passages, where the weights given seem to be fantastically high, can be read as probable, or possible, on the hypothesis that the Arab maund of about 2 lb. survived in certain administrative departments in northern India.

Other passages indicate that a maund of about 15 lb. was known to the Mogul administration, though not recorded in wholesale commerce.

This enumeration practically exhausts the sources to which I have access; but they do not cover the whole of India, and it is not suggested that the enumeration is complete. Additions to it would be welcome, notably for Sind, the Panjâb, Bihâr and Râjpûtânâ.

I have hazarded the guess that the southern maund may originally have represented half a porter's load. This suggestion may be extended to the Delhi maund, and possibly to the Gujarât and the smaller Agra maund; while it might also be applied to Bengal as representing a whole load, for Bengal in many ways thought differently from the rest of India. Anything

over 60 lb. would however make a heavy load for a porter, and the suggestion could not be extended to the larger Agra maund, or to that found east of the Meghnâ.

For these maunds of 40 lb. and upwards, there is a possibility that what we are dealing with was originally the contents of a donkey's pannier. We have seen above that in the mountainous country the commonest units of weight were called 'donkey-loads,' and a pannier, or half-load, would there be somewhere about 80 lb. The hill-donkeys are however a larger and stronger breed than those usually found in the plains, and ought to be able to carry substantially more. I can hear of no case of donkeys now being used for regular transport in the plains ; in brick-fields, and for short journeys in northern India, they are expected to carry as much as a maund in each pannier, but this is certainly gross overloading, and nothing like so much could be carried for long marches on successive days, when a total load of round about 100 lb. would be reasonable. It may be noted that Dr. Pran Nath in the work already quoted mentions (p. 77) a unit named *kharwâr* in Sanskrit ; but I have been unable to find out when, or where, this unit was used, and the possibility that it may be the Persian *kharwâr* in Sanskrit guise cannot be excluded.

These guesses would carry us back to a very early period, before the ox and the camel had become the principal carriers of India, and when the usual agents were porters, supplemented in some localities by donkeys. My object in offering them is merely to ask if such a period has left any traces in literature, and if there is anything to show that donkeys were in fact used for transport in regions where the maunds were comparatively large. For all I know, the donkey may have been important before the arrival of the Aryans, and the existing contempt for a most serviceable animal may be a survival of the Aryan disdain of unfamiliar institutions : at any rate, his history may deserve more attention than it has hitherto received.

THE INTERROGATIVE BASES OF DRAVIDIAN.

BY L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L. (MAHARAJA'S COLLEGE, ERNAKULAM.)

(*Continued from p. 4.*)

The fact that Telugu and some of the central Dravidian dialects show *ē* in cases where Tamil and Kannaḍa show *ā* need not be held to prove that the latter was not original. The true and the only test in such instances would be to consider what, after an analysis of the cognates of the words given above, would emerge as the reconstructed bases, and if these latter show *ā* instead of *ē*, there can be little doubt about the original character of *ā*. In the parallel cases cited above, the fact that the source-bases show *ā* would tend to demonstrate that in all these *ā* should be considered to be original.

The question now arises, why and how these forms took on *y* before them ; for, there is little doubt that as Dravidian does not tolerate original initial *y*, this *y* should be considered secondary.

It will already have been noted that in the above instances the correspondence between Telugu *ē* and Tamil *ā* exists only where the latter alternates with *yā*. This taken along with the fact already demonstrated above, that *a* should have been original, would furnish us with the clue to the origin of *y* before *a*.

ā in these instances probably developed a palatal tonality at a particular stage of Dravidian when the palatal glide became incorporated; and this glide became permanently written and uttered in Tamil as a fricative, while in Telugu and in some instances in Kûi and in Tamil, *yā* changed into *ē*.

That the palatal tonality was not developed in all dialects and in all instances of forms with *ā*- in Tamil itself, is shown by

(*a*) the occurrence in ancient Tamil of alternative forms for *yāḍu*, etc., containing an initial *ā* with a distinct non-palatal tonality (as attested by the actual sound-value now given to them) and

(*b*) by instances like the following from different dialects, where an original ă appears to have changed into ŏ:

Kûi *ôḍa* (sheep) —cf. Tam., Kann. *âḍu*, Tuḷu *êḍu*.

Kûi *oli*, *oḍi* (bear), *oḍri* (rat)—cf. Gôṇḍi *alli* (rat), Tam. *eli*, Tel. *eluka*.

" *ôṛa* (channel, furrow) —cf. Tam. *yâṛu*, *âṛu*, Tel. *êru*.

Malto *ô* (cow, cattle)
Kurukh *ôy* (") } —cf. Tam. *â* (cow, etc.), Kann., Tel. *âvu* (cow).

Kurukh *ôl-* (to be on fire) —cf. Tam. *al̲-*, Tuḷu *arl-*; Tam., Kann., Tuḷu, Tel. *eri* (to burn), Kann. *uri* (to burn), Tuḷu *aratæ* (burning).

" *olox-* (to bewail) —cf. Tam. *al̲-* (to grieve), Kann. *al̲-*, Tuḷu *ar-* (to weep), Tel. *êḍu-* (to weep).

The following facts directly suggest that ă and ŏ are intimately related deictic particles in Dravidian:

(*a*) The primary demonstrative particles (in most of the Dravidian dialects) are ĭ denoting proximity, ă denoting remoteness and a less common ŭ (found as such in ancient Tamil) signifying something intermediate between proximity and remoteness. Words have been formed on all these deictic bases in Dravidian.

The idea of remoteness is usually denoted in all dialects (except Brâhûî and Kûi) by the particle ă; but at the same time a particle ŏ appears to have been developed in certain contexts to denote the conception of greater remoteness than is signified by ă. This ŏ is found occurring in the following contexts:—

(i) Kûi demonstrative adjective ŏ (that over there).

(ii) A set of words prominent in the southern dialects, but possessing cognates in the northern Dravidian tongues also, all of which are formed on an ŏ- basis, as the basic deictic significations implying extreme remoteness attest, e.g.,

Tamil *ôy* (to fling *off*)—cf. Gôṇḍi *oi-* (to carry off), Kur. *ui-*, Kûi *ô-*
ôṅgu (to rise high, i.e., *farther off*).
oli (to flow *away*), etc.

(iii) Side by side with an interrogative particle *-â* (apparently derived from the corresponding demonstrative) there occurs in Tamil another interrogative particle *ō* which implies greater doubt than *â* in contexts like the following:

cf. *vandân-â* (did he come ?) with *vandân-ô* (did he indeed come ?)

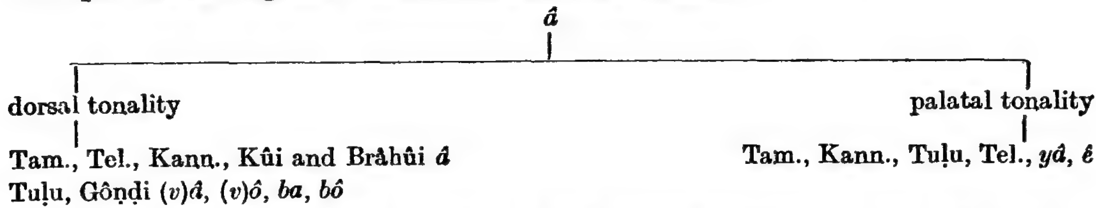
cf. *âṛ-â eṭṭ-â* (six or eight, which ?) with *âṛ-ô eṭṭ-ô* (six or eight, which indeed ?)

(*b*) The fact that ŏ and ă are intimately related in meaning, in conjunction with the other fact that ŏ by itself does not appear in its bare adjectival state as a common demonstrative in any of the dialects except Kûi (where secondary demonstratives abound) would point to the two particles having been as intimately connected in form as in meaning.

This relationship in form cannot be explained in any other way than by the postulate that ă developed a dorsal tonality and changed into ŏ through the intermediate stage [ɔ].

The position then would be this: The original *â* of the interrogatives cited above need not have had in the primitive stage a palatal tonality; but, on the other hand, it may have developed at a later stage a palatal tonality in some instances in some dialects, while in other dialects it may have tended to become dorsal. The existence of *yâ* forms in Tamil and Kannaḍa on the one hand, and on the other our discussion of certain Tuḷu and Gôṇḍî interrogatives

would bear out this position. It could be shown that these bases in Tuḷu and Gôṇḍî were developed from an original *â*- base which had a dorsal tonality :—



We have now to analyse the formation of these interrogative forms of Tuḷu and Gôṇḍî.

I. Tuḷu.	*(v)â* *(v)ôvu*	(which ?)	
	(v)ôḷu	(where ?)	
	(v)ôḍe	(whither ?)	

If we examine the list of Tuḷu demonstratives given at the end, we find the following forms, all of which are the resultants of the operation of aphæresis of initial syllables consequent on accent-displacement :—

mûḷu (here) < *vuḷu* < *ivuḷu* < *i*, the proximate demonstrative + *uḷ* (place). This is suggested directly by the word *avuḷu* (there), which appears in its full form probably on account of the fact that the remote demonstrative carried greater accent on the first syllable and escaped aphæresis.[4]

A similar explanation will have to be given for *môḷu* (she), *mêru* (they), etc., and also for *mûlu* (here).

The question is whether such an explanation could be given for Tuḷu *vâ*, etc. Can we consider that *vâ* (which ?) is < *yâ (v)a* or *yê (v)a*, and *vôvu* (which ?) is < *yâ (v)avu* ? We cannot, for two reasons :—

(*a*) In some instances where *yâ* has been active, aphæresis has failed to operate, e.g., *yêru* (who ?), *yêpa* (when ?), *yeñca* (why ?) ; and there seems to be little reason why it should have operated in the presumed hypothetical forms *yêva*, etc.

(*b*) Further, *vâ* and *vôvu* possess the most elementary and generalized of meanings ; in no circumstances can we conceive of the supposed older form of *vâ* (which ?), viz., *ya (v)a*, giving this generalized meaning implied in the actual modern signification of *vâ*, *vô*.

The fact that in Tuḷu these forms with initial *v*- possess only the most elementary of interrogative significations (uncombined with ideas of gender, direction, time, place or manner) would, I think, point to this change having occurred at a very ancient stage. The existence of Tuḷu *ôḷu* (where ?), *ôḍu* (whither ?) would corroborate the fact of the dorsal tonality having characterized *â* at a particular stage.

II. Gôṇḍî.	*bôl* (who ?)	*bappôr*	(when ?)
	bôr	*bêga*	(where ?)
	bad (which ?)	*bâba*	(why ?)
		bah	(what ?)

One might suggest here too that aphæresis of initial syllables may have occurred, if we were to limit our observations to *bôl* (who). The change would then be something like the following :—

yâ+ol (he) > *yâ(v)ol* > *yabôl* > *bôl*, etc.

Aphæresis of initial syllables, it may be said, is also found though very rarely, in Gôṇḍî, as the following instances would show :—

reng (to be open)—cf. south Dravidian *tiṛa*, *tuṛa* (to open).
ragg (to descend)—cf. south Dravidian *iṛaṅg* (to descend).

[4] Compare proximate *môḷu* (she) with remote *âḷu* (she) and proximate masculine plural *mêru* (they) with the remote form *âru*.

Instances of aphæresis, however, are extremely rare in Gôṇḍî, and possibly are traceable only in a few forms with initial *l*- or *r*-. No instance of aphæresis can be postulated for any among the large number of Gôṇḍî *b*-forms given in Trench's lists. On the other hand, almost all those that are native could be connected with forms of other dialects with initial *p*.

Apart from this, there is another reason why we cannot postulate aphæresis as accounting for the initial *b*- of the Gôṇḍî interrogatives. Granting that *bôl*, *bôr*, *bad* may respectively be traced through aphæresis to *yâbol*, etc., how could we, on the same principle, account for *bappôr* (when ?), *bêga* (where ?), *baba* (why ?) and *bah* (what ?) The theory of aphæresis would fail to explain the formation of these words. The only plausible explanation for the derivation of these forms is to trace them ultimately to an interrogative *ba*- which combined with the time-suffix in *bappôr*, with the place-suffix in *bêga*, and was retained as such in *bah* while it was reduplicated in *baba* (why ?)

On the whole, then, the Gôṇḍî and the Tuḷu forms only tend to justify the view that a certain number of interrogative bases should have been directly produced from *â* with a dorsal tonality.

That Dravidian dorsal initial vowels of words do incorporate a dorsal glide *v̆*, which may or may not fully develop into a bilabial fricative *v*, has been dealt with by me already in my *Dravidic Miscellany* published in this Journal.

Further confirmatory evidence that *a* with dorsal tonality should have existed in Dravidian as an interrogative base, is supplied by the existence in Kannaḍa and in Kûi of a series of interrogatives with *â* as their base :—

Kannaḍa *âvan*, *âval*, *âvar*, etc.
Kûi *anañju*, etc.
Brâhûî *a*-

If, finally, the question is posed why from among the demonstrative bases *ĭ*, *ŭ* and *ă*, the last-mentioned should have been chosen to serve as the interrogative base, one might answer that as the interrogative always implies doubt, the idea of a certain degree of uncertainty[5] contained in the remote demonstrative particle would more appropriately serve the function of the interrogative, the difference between the demonstrative and the interrogative in such a case consisting only in the degree of accent carried by the particle.

III. It now remains for us only to discuss some of the peculiar secondary interrogative bases [Kann. *dâ*-, Tuḷu *dâ*-, *jâ*-, Brâhûi *dê*-, Malto *nê*-] occurring in some of the dialects and to find out if they may or may not be connected with the base *â* underlying the interrogative forms discussed immediately above.

These forms are peculiar and so far have not been satisfactorily explained. Caldwell noted some of them, but offered no suggestion regarding the origin of the initial *d*- of these forms, which, except for this initial sound, correspond exactly to the interrogatives beginning with *y* and those with *â*. Caldwell in this connection states only that "in these instances the analogy of the other dialects leads me to conclude *yâ* to be the older and more correct form of the Interrogative base."

On page 777 of the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. IV, Mr. E. H. Tuttle suggests that "the forms with initial *y* (of Kannaḍa and Tuḷu) have variants with initial *d*, apparently developed from *ad*(*u*) in the question *ad evan* (who is that ?) ; the neuter is combined with a masculine in Dravidian as in German *wer ist das* ? " For initial *d*- of Brâhûî *dêr* also, he would suggest a similar origin, while he would relate the Brâhûî proximate demonstrative *dâ* (this) to Afg͟hân *da*.

Mr. Tuttle's explanation might be considered to be quite plausible if the peculiar dental initial appeared in the interrogatives only, as a variant of forms with initial *a*-. As a matter of fact, there are a few other words with initial and medial *d*, which may be considered to

[5] Cf. The Tamil interrogative particle -*â* in phrases like *vandân-â* ? (did he come ?), etc.

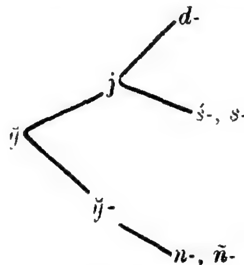
be the variants of originals with palatal vowels, and which cannot in any circumstances be explained on the basis of the principle suggested by Mr. Tuttle.

Compare the following :—

Tamil.	Kann.	Tuḷu.	Kûi.	Brâhûî.
îr (wetness) .. *nîr* (water)	....	....	*sîr* (water) ..	*dîr* (water).
....	*nettar* (blood) ?[<*(*n*)*etar* <**ỹitar* <**yirat-* <IA *rakta*]?	....	....	*ditar* (blood).
ñâyir (sun) ..	*nesar* ..	*nesar* ..	....	*de* (sun).
y̆il (not) ..	*y̆iḷ* ..	(*y̆*)*ijji* ..	*sil*, *siḍ* (not)..	....
y̆êr (plough) ..	*âr* ..		*sêru* (team of oxen for ploughing).	....

These instances, few as they are, raise a problem which (in my view) cannot be dissociated from the question of *d*-, *j*-, and *n*- of the interrogatives in question. The explanation does not appear to be easy. I have tried to show elsewhere [*QJMS*., vol. XX ; *IA*., vol. LX] that initial *n*-, *ñ*- of some Dravidian words could be traced back to be the full development of a nasalised prothetic front on-glide in certain circumstances.

Is it possible that *j*- and *d*- in the above instances may also have been similarly connected with a front on-glide ? If so, we shall have to postulate a scheme like the following :—



So far as *y̆*- > *j*- > *d*- or *ś*-, *s*- is concerned, it has to be noted that, as we have *no* continuous evidence of the intermediate stages of any of the words in question, our postulate remains without satisfactory proof.

However this be, so long as we lack a convincing explanation for the initial sounds of these forms, so long would suggestions regarding the history of the interrogatives with *d*-, *j*-, also remain tentative.

We may sum up our conclusions thus :—

(i) The original interrogative base of Dravidian was *â*, the remote demonstrative particle having been chosen as the most appropriate for expressing the interrogative idea.

(ii) This interrogative base in some dialects and in some instances developed a palatal tonality, while in others it showed a dorsal tonality.

(iii) *yâ*-, *yê*-, of Tamil, Telugu, are the developments of the interrogative base *â* with a *palatal* tonality.

(iv) *vâ*-, *vô*- of Tuḷu and *bâ*- of Gôṇḍî are the developments of the interrogative base *â* with a *dorsal* tonality.

(v) The original interrogative base *ă̄* appears as such without undergoing change either in the palatal or in the dorsal direction, in Kûi, Kannaḍa and in Brâhûî.

Table of Significant Demonstratives referred to in this essay.

	Adjectives.			Adverbs.			Pronouns.		
	Proximate.	Intermediate.	Remote.	Proximate.	Intermediate.	Remote.	Proximate.	Intermediate.	Remote.
Tamil	*i*	*u*	*a*	*i*-	*u*-	*a*-	*i*-	*u*-	*a*-
Telugu..	*i*	..	*a*	*i*-	..	*a*-	*i*-	..	*a*-
Kannaḍa	*i*	*u*	*a*	*i*-	..	*a*-	*i*-	*u*-	*a*
Malayâḷam	*i*, *ī*	..	*a*, *â*	*i*-	..	*a*-	*i*-	..	*a*-
Tuḷu	*i*	*u* [rare]	*a*	*i*- *mûḷu* (here)	..	*a*- *avuḷu* (there)	*i*- *môḷu* (she) *mêru* (they)	*u*- [rare] only in *undu* (this) which has coalesced in meaning with *indu* (this).	*a*-
Kûi	*i*	..	*â*, *ô*, *ê* [rare]	*i*-	..	*â*-, *ô*- *ê*- [rare]	*i*-	..	*â*-, *ô*-
Gôṇḍi	*i*, *e*	..	*a*, *ô*	*i*-	..	*a*-	*i*-, *e*-	..	*a*-, *ô*-
Kurukh	*i*, *ī*	(*h*)*u*, (*h*)*û*	*a*, *â*	*i*-	..	*a*-	*i*-	(*h*)*u*-	*a*-
Brâhûi..	(*d*)*â*	*o*	*ê*	(*d*)*â*-	*o*-	*ê*-	..	..	..

Bork postulates Elamitic affinities for the remote Dem. particle *ê* of Brâhûi (*vide* " Reallexicon für Vorgeschichte," Vol. III, pp. 54 ff.).

NOTES ON HOBSON-JOBSON.

BY PROFESSOR S. H. HODIVALA, M.A.

(*Continued from Vol. LX, page 214.*)

Pescaria.—Yule gives no illustrative quotation from an English author, so the following example may bear citation :—

[*c.* 1585.] " The best pearles come from the iland of Baharim in the Persian Sea, the woorser from the *Piscaria* neere the isle of Ceylon, and from Aynam [Hainan], a great iland on the southernmost coast of China."—R. Fitch, in *Early Travels in India*, ed. Foster, p. 47.

Peshkhana.—Bernier is the earliest writer quoted in illustration of this word. The following is an earlier use of the term.

[*c.* 1590.] " The King [Akbar] ordered the camp to be made in the traditional Mongol style. The ancient custom is that the royal pavilion (which they call the *Pescqhannae* or ' chief house ') should be placed in a pleasant open place if such can be found."—Monserrate, *Commentary*, trans. Hoyland, p. 75.

Pie.—[*c.* 1380.] " When the Sultân [Fîrûz Tughlaq] had issued these many varieties of coins, it occurred to his benignant mind that a very poor person might buy an article in the market, and a half or a quarter *jîtal* might be due to him in change, but if the shopkeeper had no *dângs* (quarters), no change could be given, and the purchaser would incur a loss . . . . The Sultân accordingly gave directions for the issueing of a half *jîtal*, called *âdhâ*, and a quarter *jîtal*, called *bîkh*, so that the requirements of the indigent might be supplied."—*Târîkh-i-Fîrûzshâhî* in Elliot and Dowson, III, 358. The name of this quarter *jîtal* is written as بیکہ *bîkh*, in the printed text, and Thomas has, in his *Chronicles of the Pathân Kings of Dehli*, tried to make some meaning out of it by saying that it signifies a coin to be given away in charity to beggars (Hind. *bhîkh*) ; but this is obviously far-fetched, and I venture to suggest with some confidence that بیکہ is a copyist's error for پیکہ *paika*, one-fourth, i.e., the ' quarter ' or ' fourth part,' just as *âdhâ* signifies the ' moiety ' or ' half.'

The earliest example of the use of ' pie ' (*pâî*) itself that I have come across is to be found in the *Dâbistân*, trans. Shea and Troyer, II, 216.

Piece-goods.—This entry contains a long and most interesting catalogue of the more or less obsolete names of various kinds of fabrics made in India in olden times, and the authors have been obliged to leave many of them unexplained.

' Anna batchies ' seems to be a miswriting of Anna Katchies, cf. ' Aunne Ketchies,' a few lines lower down ; also ' Catta Ketchies,' ' Putton Ketchies.' In all these names ' Ketchies stands for Hamilton's ' Catcha,' ' a kind of coarse cloth.' [See also Foster, *English Factories* (1642-5), p. 252 ; (1646-50), pp. 13, 100, 106.] The different varieties are perhaps so called from the names of the towns where they were made or from which they came, viz., Aunne, i.e., Unâ, near Diu in Kâṭhiâwâṛ, Cuttack in Orissa, and Pattan, about 60 miles north-west of Aḥmadâbâd now in the Gâikwâḍ's territory,—the Anhilwâd-Pâtan of the historians, which is in Gujarât (*not* Cutch, as Yule says).

' Chundraconaes.' Yule conjecturally derives from *Chandrakhâna*, ' moonchecks,' but this name also, like ' Arrahs,' ' Nunsarees,' ' Chinechuras,' etc., more probably owes its origin to a town, viz., Chandrakona, a well-known weaving centre in Midnapur, Bengal.

So ' Callawapores ' are probably from Kalûpur, the name of an old but still existing suburb of Aḥmadâbâd, and ' Chittâbullies ' from some town called Chitâpur or Jaitâpur or Chintapalli—common Indian toponyms. In ' Dysucksoys,' ' Kissorsoys,' ' Sicktersoys,' ' soys ' seems to be a corrupt form of *sâhi* or *sâi*, ' in the style of,' ' in the manner or fashion of.' These textiles were so called after persons named Dysuck (Dalsukh or Dilsukh ?), Kishor, Sickter, Sickber (Sukhbîr or Sukhvîr ?). Cf. Ẓafarkhânî, Farḥatkhânî, Kâimkhânî, etc. Yule connects ' Nunsarees ' with a place named Nansâri in Bhandâra district (C. P.), but there can be little doubt that these fabrics were made at Navsâri about eighteen miles south of Sûrat, which was long famous as a weaving-centre—the ' Nassaria ' of Jourdain, who says that it

made " greate store of baftas " (*Journal*, p. 128). See also Foster, *English Factories* (1618-21), pp. 89, 92, 95, also the 1634-36 Volume, pp. 118, 146, 164.

Similarly, 'Laccowries' appear to have been made at Lakkhaur (the Lukhawar of the Indian Atlas), about thirty miles south of Patna. See Foster, *English Factories* (1618-21), pp. 192, 197 ; Mundy, *Travels*, II, 154, 155, 362, 363.

'Nicanees,' which appear to have been 'striped calicos,' might be *nishânîs*, from *nishân* 'mark,' 'sign.'

Pollock-saug.—Yule says it is called 'Country Spinach' also. According to Fallon, *pâlak* is derived from Sanskrit *pâlaṅka*, a potherb, while Abul Faẕl gives the following description of *sâg* : " It is made of spinach and other greens, and is one of the most pleasant dishes."—*Âîn*, trans. Blochmann, I, 59. But this seems to be a secondary meaning of the Hindî *sâg*, for it is really the Sans. *shâka*, 'green potherbs of all sorts, greens' and *shâka* is the ordinary Gujarâtî word for 'vegetables.'[5]

It would seem as if Abul Faẕl's recipe is for making 'Pollock sâg,' and that his *sâg* is an abbreviated form of that word.

Pommelo, Pampelmoose.—[1679.] See quotation from Bombay under *Conbalingua.*

Yule says that this fruit " probably did not come to India till the seventeenth century ; it is not mentioned in the *Âîn.*" The botanical name of the Pummelo is given by him as *Citrus decumana.* But the *Citrus decumana* is mentioned in the *Bâburnâma*, if Erskine's and Mrs. Beveridge's interpretation of that emperor's description of the *sadâphal* is to be relied on.

" The *sadâpal*," he writes, " is another orange-like fruit. This is pear-shaped, colours like the quince, ripens sweet, but not to the sickly-sweetness of the orange (*nâranj*)."—Trans. A. S. Beveridge, p. 512.

This learned lady further points out that " Firminger (p. 223) has *Citrus decumane pyriformis*, suiting Bâbur's 'pear-shaped.' "—*Ibid.*, note.

Now the *sadâphal* is mentioned in the *Âîn* also. Only Yule was unable to recognise it because he relied on the translation of Blochmann, who has rendered *sadâphal* by 'custard apples,' trans. p. 66.—(See *Âîn, Bibl. Ind.*, text, I, p. 70.) There can be no doubt that Bâbur's *sadâphal* is not the custard apple. It was a fruit of the orange kind. Abul Faẕl does not describe the *sadâphal*, but he says explicitly that those fruits " are to be had throughout the whole year " ; and as this did not suit his interpretation of it as 'custard apple,' Blochmann suggested that it was " a mistake of the MSS ! "

I may add that the *sadâphal*—whatever it may be, and the word *does* seem to be applied to more than one kind of fruit—is mentioned also in Sirâj's *Târîkh-i-Fîrûzshâhî*, text, 128, l. 2, as growing in the gardens planted by Sulṭân Fîrûz Tughlaq in his new city of Ḥiṣâr Fîrûza about 1360 A.D. In short, if the *sadâphal* of Bâbur was the *Citrus decumana*, the fruit must have been known in India long before the seventeenth century.

Punch.—[1632.] " Is glad that Colley has such good company as Cartwright ; hopes they will keep a good house together and 'drincke *punch* by no allowance.' " Robert Adams at Armagon to Thomas Colley at Pettapoli, 28 September, 1632, in *English Factories in India* (1630-1633), p. 229. Sir William Foster notes that " this appears to be the earliest known mention of this famous drink."

Peter Mundy describes a somewhat similar drink called 'Charebockhra' :

[1629-30.] " Our stronge Drinck is Racke, like stronge water, next a kinde of beer made of Course Sugar and other ingredients . . . . There is sometimes used a composition of Racke, water, sugar and Juice of Limes called Charebockhra."—*Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Temple, II, 28. The word must be the Persian *chihâr bahra* (چهار بهره)—'four portions or parts.'[6]

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[5] In Hindî, *sâg* (Sans. शाकः) is the generic term for pot-herb ; *pâlak* is a particular kind of pot-herb, viz., garden spinach, *Spinacia oleracea*, Linn.—C. E. A. W. O., JOINT-EDITOR.

[6] Or rather the Hind. *châr bakhrâ* (var. *bakhrâ*).—C. E. A. W. O , JOINT-EDITOR.

Punkah.—The earliest reference to the use in India of the 'portable fan' which the authors have cited is from the Journal of Finch (1610). But 'Abdu'r-razzâq mentions the article in his *Maṯla'u 's-sa'dain.* In a very interesting account of his interview with the Râja of Vijayanagar in 1443, he writes :

"As I was in a profuse perspiration from the excessive heat and the quantity of clothes which I had on me, the monarch took compassion on me, and favoured me with a fan of k̲h̲aṭâî [Cathay] which he held in his hand."—Elliot and Dowson, *H. of I.*, IV, 113.

Sir Henry rightly points out that the Indian fans made of the Palmyra leaf "are not formed, as Chinese fans are, like those of our ladies," but it would appear from the above that "Chinese fans" were in actual use at the Court of Vijayanagar in the middle of the fifteenth century.

The earliest *clear* description of 'the large, fixed and swinging fan'—the modern Anglo-Indian 'Punkha' in the specific application of the term—is to be found, as Sir Richard Temple has pointed out, in *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, Vol. II, p. 191 (1632). The passage is cited above (Vol. LX, p. 148) in the note on 'Cuscuss.'

Punsaree.—The earliest use quoted by Yule is of 1830, but this word will be found in Mundy.

[1632.] "In fine, hee brought with him some fewe *Pasaares* or shoppkeepers, whoe amongst them all would not take above 4 or 5 maunds."—*Travels*, ed. Temple, II, 147.

Purdesee.—The occurrence of this vocable in Barbosa shows how early the Portuguese learnt to use words belonging to the language of the country. Describing the 'Land of Malabar,' he writes :

"There are many other foreign Moors as well in the town of Calecut, who are called *Pardesis*, natives of divers lands."—*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, ed. Dames, II, 75-6.

Roundel.—The following may be quoted as early examples of the use of this interesting word.

[1626.] "The Dutch hearing of their arrival, in all haste sent their scrivan a Brahman, with his pallankine, '*Kimdeleroes*' and attendants compleat to carry a present to the Nâyak and prevent the success of English.'—*English Factories in India* (1624-29), p. 121. Sir William Foster is undoubtedly right in saying that this is the copyist's misreading of 'Rundeleroes.'

[1639.] "After him followed pallankeens, by whose side went *rondeleeroes* [i.e., Roundel boys] carryeing of broad things like targetts to keepe away the sunne or rayne.'—Affidavit of Ralph Cartwright, quoted in *English Factories in India*, ed. Sir W. Foster (1637-41), p. 48, note.

[1639.] "You bringe the Dutch in for example, saying they keepe two *rundelleres*, three torcheres [i.e., torch bearers] and 60 peownes, with two horses and one pallankeene."—*Ibid.*, p. 48.

Sarbatane.—Yule does not seem to have noticed the use of this word by Varthema :—

[*c.* 1508.] "These carry bows and the greater part darts of cane. Some also use *Zarabottane* (blow-pipes) with which they throw poisoned darts and they throw them with the mouth and, however little they draw blood, the [wounded] person dies."—*Travels of L. Varthema*, tr. Badger, p. 254.

Scrivan.—Sir Thomas Roe (1616) is the earliest English author quoted by Yule.

[*c.* 1609.] "Which the Governour perceiveinge, and this beinge required by them of him in a publique audience, the Governor cawsed notice to bee taken of it by the Caia and a *scrivano* before the Cadee of the town."—*Journal of John Jourdain*, ed. Foster, p. 101.

Seemul.—There is a very early reference to this tree by a Musulman author of the fourteenth century :—

[*c.* 1398.] "Directions were issued for bringing parcels of the *Sembal* (silk-cotton-tree). Quantities of this silk-cotton were placed round the column [*scil.* the Aśoka pillar] and when the earth at its base was removed, it fell gently over on the bed prepared for it. The cotton was then removed by degrees."—*Târîk̲h̲-i-Fîrûzshâhî*, in Elliot and Dowson, *H. of I.*, III,

351 ; also Text, 309, l. 5, where the spelling is سمینا. The tree is said to be mentioned in the Ṛigveda in what is known as ' Vishvâmitra's Curse.'

Shahbash.—The following is an early use of this term in English :—

[1622.] " Yesterday the time fixed by Ji Râm Shâh expired, but he has only delivered a few more goods, ' hee still feedinge us with *Shabash* according to the base and wicked custome of this cuntrye.' "—*English Factories in India*, ed. Foster (1622-23), p. 177.

Shameeana, Semianna.—Sir Henry has quoted the passage found on p. 54, Vol. I, of Blochmann's Translation of the *Âîn*, but there is another at *ibid.*, I, 46, which seems to me to give a clue to the derivation of this word. There the awning is called *namgîrah* by Abul Fazl. This latter word would mean ' dew-catcher ' or ' dew-receiver,' i.e., protector from dew. Now *shâm* signifies ' evening,' and so *shâmiâna* might have been so called because it would afford protection against the ' evening dews.'

Mr. Crooke says that " in the early records, the word is used for a kind of striped calico." But this ' Semianna,' ' Semianno,' is an entirely different word, which never occurs in the Persian histories. It is the Indian name of a textile fabric, which was so called because it was made at Samâna in the Panjâb. Of this, again, there seem, as usual, to have been several varieties, coarse as well as fine.—Sir W. Foster's note in *English Factories* (1618-21), p. xxi ; also *Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Temple, II, 140 n., 156.

[1608-13.] " This tent is curiously wrought and hath many *seminans* joyning round about it of most curious wrought velvet, embroidered with gold, and many of them are of cloath of gold and silver."—William Hawkins in *Early Travels in India*, ed. Foster, p. 117. See also Finch (*ibid.*), pp. 163, 184, 187.

It is clear that Hawkins' ' seminans ' were *shâmiyânas*, and not the cotton cloths made at Samâna, as the former are explicitly said to have been of ' wrought velvet.'

(*To be continued.*)

REMARKS ON THE NICOBAR ISLANDERS AND THEIR COUNTRY.

BY THE LATE SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT., C.B., C.I.E., F.B.A., F.S.A.,

Chief Commissioner, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, from 1894 to 1903.

(*Continued from vol. LX, page 218.*)

Teressa.—Thinly populated and possessing much jungle land of fertile quality, and grass land suited for rearing cattle.

Bompoka.—Small and fairly well populated. Land, therefore, not available for an alien settlement.

Trinkat.—Although a large portion of this low-lying island is covered with primeval forest and uncultivated land which could with little labour be rendered capable of bearing a variety of valuable products, it possesses, at the same time, so many plantations of cocoanut, betel-nut and pandanus trees, which comprise the chief wealth of the people living in the small, scattered villages on the east coasts of Nancowry and Camorta, that the establishment of a colony on any portion of the island would be regarded by the natives with extreme disfavour. Considerable as are the present returns of cocoanuts and other products of this island, it is very certain that they are capable of enormous increase in the hands of skilled cultivators.

Nancowry and Camorta.—Thinly populated. Jungle soil of sufficient excellence to repay the labour of cultivation. Grass land admirably adapted for rearing cattle.

Katchall and the Southern Group of Islands.—Are very thinly populated and contain abundance of very rich soil, presenting, therefore, the most promising field for agricultural colonists.

As the Nicobar Islands apparently lie directly in the local line of greatest weakness, severe earthquakes are to be expected and have occurred at least three times in the last 60

years. Earthquakes of great violence were recorded in 1847 (31st October to 5th December), 1881 with tidal wave (31st December), and milder shocks in 1899 (December). The tidal waves caused by the eruption of Krakatoa in the Straits of Sunda in August 1883 were severely felt.

The vexed questions of the presence of coal and tin in the Nicobars have so far received no decided scientific support. The white clay marls of Camorta and Nancowry have become famous, as being true polycistinamarls, like those of Barbadoes.

There has been considerable activity in the collection of both land and sea shells all over the Nicobars by members of the two expeditions above mentioned, officers of the Penal Settlement, scientific visitors, and some of the missionaries, but there does not appear to be anything of special note in the sea shells. The presence of *argonauta argo, scalaria preciosa*, and of a huge *tridacna*, measuring 3 feet and more, may, however, be noted. The land shells are of more interest, as supporting the geological evidence regarding the connections of the islands north and south.

The marine and land fauna of the Nicobars take generally the character of that of the Andamans, though while the Andamans' fauna is closely allied to Arakan and Burma, the Nicobars' displays more affinities with Sumatra and Java. The land fauna, owing to greater ease in communications, has been better explored than the Andamans.

The economic zoology of the Nicobars is also mainly that of the Andamans. Coral, trepang, cuttle-bones, sea-shells, oysters, pearls, pearl-oysters, turtle and tortoise-shell, edible birds' nests are equally found in both groups of islands. And in the Nicobars a somewhat inferior quality of bath sponge is obtainable.

Although the vegetation of the Nicobars has received much desultory attention from scientific observers, it has not been subjected to a systematic examination by the Indian Forest Department like that of the Andamans. In economic value the forests of the Nicobars are quite inferior to the Andaman forests, and so far as known the commercially valuable trees, besides the fruit trees such as the cocoanut (*Cocos nucifera*), the betel-nut (*Areca Catechu*) the mellori (*Pandanus leeram*), are a thatching-palm (*Nipa fruticans*), and the timber trees *Myristica Irya, Mimusops littoralis, Hopea odorata, Artocarpus Lakoocha, Calophyllum inophyllum, Calophyllum spectabile, Podocarpus neriifolia, Artocarpus Chaplasha.* Of these only the first would at the Andamans be classed as a first class timber, the last would be a third class timber and the rest second class. The minor forest products are limited to dammer (obtained from *Dipterocarpus sp.*) and rattans. The palms of the Nicobars are exceedingly graceful, especially the beautiful *Ptychoraphis augusta.* The large clumps of *Casuarina equisetifolia* and great tree-ferns (*Alsophila albo-setacea*) are also striking features of the landscape in places.

In the old missionary records are frequently mentioned instances of the introduction of foreign economic plants. In this matter the people have been apt pupils indeed, and nowadays a number of familiar Asiatic fruit-trees are carefully and successfully cultivated; pumelos (the largest variety of the orange family), lemons, limes, oranges, shaddocks, papayas, bael-fruit (wood-apple), custard apples, bullock's-hearts, tamarinds, jacks, and plantains: besides sugarcane, yams, edible colocasia, pine-apples, capsicum, and so on. A diminutive orange, said to come from China and to have been introduced by the Moravian missionaries, is now acclimatised (and at the Andamans). It is quite possible also that with the missionaries came the peculiar zigzag garden fence of the Northern Islands. With the long commerce of the people a number of Indian weeds (*Malvaceæ* and *Compositæ*) have been introduced, *Datura, Solanum, Flemmingia mallotus, Mimosa*, and so on.

IV. METEOROLOGY.

It has always been held to be of importance to maintain a meteorological station at the Nicobars for supplementing the information to be obtained from the Andamans as to the

direction and intensity of cyclonic storms in the Bay of Bengal. A subsidiary station was therefore set up at Nancowry Harbour on the British assumption of possession in 1869 and properly maintained while the penal settlement lasted there till 1888, and after a fashion thereafter till 1897, when it was removed to Mus in Car Nicobar.

The climate generally is that of the islands of similar latitude ; very hot except when raining, damp, rain throughout the year, generally in sharp heavy showers, unwholesome for Europeans, in places dangerously subject to malaria. The weather is generally unsettled, especially in the south. The islanders are exposed to both monsoons with easterly and north-easterly gales from November to January, and south-westerly gales from May to September ; smooth weather only from February to April and in October ; occasionally visited by cyclones (recorded instances, May 1885, March 1892). The normal barometric readings (five years in Nancowry Harbour) vary between 29·960 and 29·797, being highest in January and lowest in June.

The rainfall varies much from year to year as will be seen from the following table and diagram :—

Rainfall in inches annually at Nancowry, 1874 to 1888.

Year	Inches
1873-74	94·24
1874	108·14
1875	99·97
1876	136·55
1877	108·55
1878	Not given.
1879	109·72
1880	101·96
1881	127·61
1882	143·24
1883	122·35
1884	109·62
1885	93·04
1886	143·91
1887	165·44
1888	128·29

The chief meteorological statistics for five years at the Penal Settlement in Nancowry Harbour are given below :—

	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.
TEMPERATURE.					
Mean highest in shade	May 91·3	April 91·6	April 91·9	July 86·5	April 91·2
Mean lowest in shade	Dec. 74·5	Dec. 73·3	Dec. 71·8	Feby. 72·2	Jany. 72·2
Highest in shade	May 92·2	May 95·4	Aug. 98·2	April 90·6	May 97·4
Lowest in shade	July 70·3	Sept. 71·0	Dec. 64·0	Mar. 66·4	Jany. 68·8
Dry bulb mean	83·3	84·4	84·0	82·7	83·9
Wet bulb mean	77·5	78·1	76·6	77·2	77·8
RAINFALL.					
Most wet days in a month.	May 21	July 23	Novr. 23	May 27	Septr. 22
Heaviest fall in a month.	May 21·75	Dec. 17·90	Novr. 25·23	Novr. 20·41	Octr. 27·63
Total fall in year	106	91	128	133	123
Total wet days	148	157	170	222	148

	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.
			WIND.		
N. E.	April, Decr.	January	Jany., Feb., March.	Jany., Feby.	Jany., Feby., Mar., Novr., December.
E. S. E.	....	April	April	March	....
S. S. W.	....	....	May to Aug.	....	....
S. W.	May to Octr.	May to Octr.	Sept. Octr.	Apl. to Sept.	Apl. to Octr.
S. E.	....	November..	November..	....	....
E.	....	Feby., Mar., December.	December..	Octr., Novr., Decr.	....
W. S. W.	November..	....	....	..	....
			CLOUDS.		
Clouds usually are	P. K.[1]	K. & P. K.[1]	P. K.	P. K.	P. K.

With these can be partially compared Meteorological Statistics for Car-Nicobar since the establishment of the station there.

	1898.[2]		1899.		1900.		1901.[3]	
				TEMPERATURE.				
Mean highest in shade	Septr.	84·4	May	88·7	July	88·6	Apl.	91·6
Mean lowest in shade	„	76·7	April	77·8	Feby.	77·6	Octr.	74·6
Highest in shade	„	88·0	March	92·2	April	93·5	April	92·3
Lowest in shade	Novr.	70·7	Feby.	66·0	March	66·8	Jany.	71·6
Dry bulb mean	„	79·3	„	83·2	„	83·8	„	84·2
Wet bulb mean	„	77·2	„	73·6	„	73·0	„	74·0
				RAINFALL.				
Most wet days in a month	Octr.	18	June	26	May	20	Septr.	22
Heaviest fall in a month	Septr.	11·38	„	20·96	„	16·79	„	19·77
Total fall in year	„	44	„	104	„	106	„	78·
Total wet days	„	51	„	178	„	131	„	99·

V. HISTORY.

The situation of the Nicobars along the line of a very ancient trade has caused them to be reported by traders and seafarers through all historical times. Gerini has fixed on Maniola for Car-Nicobar and Agathodaimonos for Great Nicobar as the right ascription of Ptolemy's island names for this region. This ascription agrees generally with the mediæval editions of Ptolemy. Yule's guess that Ptolemy's Barussæ is the Nicobars is corrected by Gerini's statement that it refers to Nias. In the 1490 edition of Ptolemy the Satyrorum Insulæ, placed to the south-east of the Malay Peninsula, where the Anamba Islands east of Singapore, also on the line of the old route to China, really are, have opposite them the remark :—*qui has inhabitant caudas habere dicuntur*—no doubt in confusion with the Nicobars. They are without doubt the Lankhabalus of the *Arab Relations* (851 A.D.), which term may be safely taken as a misapprehension or mistranscription of some form of Nicobar (through Nakkavar, Nankhabar), thus affording the earliest reference to the modern term. But there is an earlier mention of them by I-Tsing, the Chinese Buddhist monk, in his travels (672 A.D.) under the name of the Land of the Naked People (Lo-jen-kuo) and this seems to have been the recognised name for them in China at that time. "Land of the Naked" translates Nakkavaram, the name by which the islands appear in the great Tanjore inscription of 1050. This name reappears in Marco Polo's Necuveran (1292), in Rashîdu'd-dîn's Nakwaram (1300), and in Friar Odoric's Nicoveran (1322), which are the lineal ancestors of the fifteenth and sixteenth century Portuguese Nacabar and Nicubar and the modern

[1] P. K. = Pallio-Cumulus; K. = Cumulus.
[2] The observations in 1898 are only given from the 1st September to 31st December 1898.
[3] In 1901 the observations are only up to 31st October 1901.

Nicobar. The name has been Nicobar since at least 1560. The fanciful story of the tails is repeated by the Swede Kjoeping as late as 1647.

In the seventeenth century at least, and probably much earlier, as Haensel speaks of *pater* =sorcerer, and Pere Barbe of *deos* and *reos*=God as survivals of Portuguese missionaries, the Nicobars began to attract the attention of a variety of missionaries. As early as 1688 Dampier mentions that two (probably Jesuit) "fryers" had previously been there "to convert the Indians." Next we have the letters (in *Lettres Édifiantes*) of the French Jesuits, Faure and Taillandier, in 1711. And then in 1756 the Danes took possession of the islands to colonise, the previous possession being a shadowy French one, but employed the wrong class of men sent by the Danish East India Company. The colony, affiliated to Tranquebar, had perished miserably by 1759. The Danes then in 1759 invited the Moravian Brethren to try their hands at conversion and colonisation, and thus in due time commenced the Moravian (Herrnhuter) Mission which lasted from 1768 to 1787. It did not flourish and the Danish East India Company losing heart, withdrew in 1773 and left the missionaries to a miserable fate. In 1778, by persuasion of an adventurous Dutchman, William Bolts, the Austrians appeared, but their attempt failed in three years. This offended the Danes, and from 1784 till 1807 they kept up a truly wretched little guard in Nancowry Harbour. In 1790 and 1804 fresh attempts by isolated Moravian missionaries were made. From 1807 to 1814 the islands were in English possession during the Napoleonic wars, and were then handed back by treaty to the Danes. During this time an Italian Jesuit arrived from Rangoon, but soon returned. In 1831 the Danish pastor Rosen from Tranquebar again tried to colonise, but failed for want of support and left in 1834, and by 1837 his colony had disappeared, the Danes officially giving up their rights in the place. In 1835 French Jesuits arrived in Car-Nicobar (where the Order claim to have succeeded 200 years previously) and remained on in great privation in Teressa, Chowra and elsewhere till 1846, when they too disappeared. In 1845 the Danes sent Busch in an English ship from Calcutta to resume possession, who left a good journal behind him, and in 1846 the scientific expedition in the *Galathea* with a new and unhappy settlement scheme. In 1848 they formally relinquished sovereignty and finally removed all remains of their settlement. In 1858 the Austrians again arrived scientifically in the *Novara* with a scheme for settlement which came to nothing. In 1867 Franz Maurer, an officer, strongly advised the Prussian Government to take up the islands, but in 1869 the British Government, after an amicable conversation with the Danish Government, took formal possession, and established in Nancowry Harbour, under that at the Andamans, a Penal Settlement which was withdrawn in 1888. In 1886, the Austrian corvette *Aurora* visited Nancowry and produced a *Report* and also a series of well-illustrated articles by its surgeon, Dr. W. Svoboda. At present there are maintained native agencies at Nancowry Harbour and on Car-Nicobar, both of which places are gazetted ports. At Car-Nicobar is a Church of England mission station under a native Indian catechist attached to the Diocese of Rangoon ; the only one that has not led a miserable existence. The islands since 1871 have been included in the Chief Commissionership of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

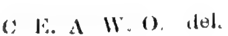
The long story of the European attempts to colonise and evangelise such a place as the Nicobars is a record of the extreme of useless suffering that merely well-intentioned enthusiasm and heroism can inflict, if they be not combined with practical knowledge and a proper equipment. Nevertheless, the various missions have left behind them valuable records of all kinds about the country and its people : especially those of Haensel (1779-1787, but written in 1812), Rosen (1831-1834), Chopard (1844), Barbe (1846). Scattered English accounts of the islands are also to be found in many books of travel almost continuously from the sixteenth century onwards.

(*To be continued.*)

SKETCH MAP
of
SOUTHERN INDIA
showing Sites* where
AŚOKAN INSCRIPTIONS
have been discovered.
* marked thus: X

JEJAKABHUKTI
×Rūpnāth
JABALPUR
Narmadā R.
Māhiṣmatī
SURAṢṬRA
Dvārakā
×Girnar
Prabhāsa
Tāpti R.
Mahānadī R.
CUTTACK
×Dhauli
KALINGA
×Jaugaḍa
Kalinganagara (Mukhalingam)
Nāsik
Pratiṣṭhāna
Nānāghāt
Sopārā
BOMBAY
Godāvarī R.
ANDHRA
HYDERABAD
Amarāvatī
Dhannakaṭaka
Piṣṭapura
Kṛṣṇā R.
Nāgārjunakonda
Śrīśailam
Maski ×
GOA
Kopbal ×
Hampi
×Erragudi
×Siddāpura
Penner R.
Banavāsi
Tungabhadra R.
MADRAS
TONDA MANDALAM
Kāñcīpura
Palar R.
Mangalur
MYSORE
Kāvērī R.
Ponnaiyar R.
Cannanore
Calicut
KONGU MANDALAM
COLA MANDALAM
Kāvēripatnam
Kranganur (Muziris)
Cochin
Tirukarūr (Vañji)
Madura
KERALA
PANDI MANDALAM
Rāmesvaram
Trivandrum
Kāyal
Kottār
Kumāri

KOPBAL and its ENVIRONS
76°-10 E
N
W
E
S
Madras and S. M. Railway
To Gadag 31 mi.
Kopbal R.S.
To Hospet 15 m.
Hire Halla R.
KOPBAL
Palkigunḍu
2339'
Gavi Maṭh
Mangalapur
2296'
15°-20 N
1946'
Bahādur Banda
Chukannahallu
Scale in Miles
0 1/4 1/2 1 2 3



MISCELLANEA.

RECENT DISCOVERIES OF EDICTS OF AŚOKA.

Through the courtesy of the Director of Archæology, H. E. H. the Niẓâm's Dominions, we are able to refer to the discovery of two new Rock Edicts in the Brâhmî script at Kopbal (the Koppal of the India Survey sheets) in the extreme south-west corner of the Niẓâm's territory.

The town of Kopbal, or Koppal, the ancient name of which appears from a Kanarese inscription on the Candra Bandi rock within the outer fort walls to have been Kopananagara, lies about 21 miles west of the ruins of Vijayanagara and rather more than a mile from the east bank of the Hire Halla river, one of the northern tributaries of the Tungabhadra. The town nestles beneath a towering mass of granitic rock of irregular quadrilateral shape, which rises abruptly to a height of some 400 feet above it (or 2,219 ft. above sea-level). This mass of rock with precipitous cliffs all round formed a natural fortress, which was further strengthened by massive walls and battlements guarding every possible line of assault and rendering it well nigh impregnable before the use of heavy artillery. In fact, in 1790 it withstood for six months a siege by the British and their allies operating against Tipû Sulṭân, when Sir John Malcolm, then a subaltern in the besieging army, described it as the strongest place he had till then seen. Adjoining this fortress hill on the west and south-west is a range of hills, the highest point of which, just a mile due west of the town, is known as Pâlkî Gund (the 'palanquin boulder') from its shape. About half a mile to the east of the Kopbal fort is a small rocky hill rising some 150 feet above the surrounding level, known as the Gavi Maṭh hill, containing four caves; while about 1½ miles south-east of the fort is another isolated rocky hill, which had also been strongly fortified, called Bahâdur Banda (the Bahadarabanda of the Survey sheet). Good views of the Kopbal and Bahâdur Banda forts will be found in the *Journal of the Hyderabad Archæological Society*, Jan. 1916, p. 94 (Plates XXVIII and XXIX).

On the rock beneath a large boulder over a natural cavern that had been adapted as a cave on the Gavi Maṭh hill a Rock Edict of 8 lines of Brâhmî characters has now been found. The existence of this inscription had been known to the local Lingâyats, by whom the site is held sacred, for some time, but it was not till January 1931 that the Guru of the *maṭh* drew to it the attention of Mr. N. R. Sastri, a resident of Kopbal who is interested in the ancient history of the locality, suggesting that it was a Tamil record. Mr. Sastri sent a communication to the Archæological Department, adding that two other Brâhmî inscriptions had also been found. Mr. Yazdani, Director of Archæology, at once took steps to have all the local inscriptions examined, and he himself proceeded to Kopbal in June last, spending eight days in a thorough examination of the area. One of the other inscriptions referred to by Mr. Sastri turned out to be a Kanarese record, but the second, incised on the bare rock on the highest point of the Pâlkî Gund hill (2,339 ft. above s.l.) proved to be an Aśokan minor rock edict, of which only five lines remained traceable, the remainder having been worn away by weathering of the rock. Excellent photographic records were made of this inscription and of the longer one on the Gavi Maṭh hill: and these have been submitted to an expert for decipherment and publication[1] in due course. The local evidence indicates that both these sites were originally Buddhist, but later on passed into the possession of the Jains, Kanarese records showing that Jaina anchorites had settled there for contemplation.

In this connexion it should be noted that some two years earlier a very important discovery had been made of a complete rescension of the Rock Edicts of Aśoka near Yerraguḍi (the Erragudi of the Survey sheet) about 8 miles north by west from Gooty in the Karnûl district, and about 95 miles in a direct line to the east of Kopbal. These edicts have not yet been published, but it is understood that a fairly detailed and illustrated account of them will appear later in the *Annual Report, A. S. I.* Besides these more recent discoveries, it will be remembered, a rock inscription was discovered by Mr. Beadon in 1915 at Maski in the Raichûr district of the Niẓâm's Dominions, which lies about 45 miles north-east of Kopbal, and three rock inscriptions were found by Mr. B. L. Rice in 1892 at Siddâpura, Brahmagiri and Jaṭiṅga-Râmeśvara in the Moḷkâlmuru tâluq of the Chitaldrûg district in the Mysore State, about the same distance to the south-east of Kopbal. Thus there have been found up to date Aśokan inscriptions at no less than seven sites within a circle of less than fifty miles in radius, six of which lie in the central basin of the Tungabhadra, and one (Erraguḍi) just outside that basin. This cluster, if it may be so described, of Aśoka's edicts is remarkable, inasmuch as the only other records of the great Mauryan emperor hitherto found to the south of the Vindhyas are those at Girnâr, Sopârâ (fragmentary), Rûpnâth, Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, hundreds of miles away. I have drawn a rough sketch map showing all these sites, as well as a sketch of Kopbal and its vicinity showing the Pâlkî Gund and Gavi Maṭh hills, where the latest finds have been made.

Though it be quite possible, if not probable, that other records in intermediate localities still await discovery, the occurrence of seven rock inscriptions in this comparatively small area seems to indicate that special attention had been given to it, whether as a stronghold of Buddhism at the time or, which seems more probable, as a frontier area of particular

[1] As a *Memoir*, Arch. Dept., H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, shortly to appear.

importance. If the Suvarṇagiri and Isila of the Brahmagiri and Siddâpura records could only be satisfactorily identified, some further light might be thrown upon the contemporary conditions of this outlying portion of the empire. It is to be hoped that further discovery or research may supply the clue required.

C. E. A. W. O.

BOOK-NOTICES.

SELECTIONS FROM THE PESHWA DAFTAR: Nos. 1 to 12. Government Central Press, Bombay, 1930.

Some twenty-five years ago, proposals were put forward by the Bombay Government for the publication of selected papers from the valuable records at Poona known as the Peshwa's Daftar. The work was to have been entrusted to Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, in whose capable hands it would have been admirably placed. Unfortunately the Secretary of State, the late Lord Morley, from mistaken motives of economy, would only agree to a cheaper agent of his own suggestion, who would have been quite incapable of doing justice to the materials. The proposal was then dropped; and the murder of Mr. Jackson at Nâsik shortly afterwards rendered its revival later impossible.

We here have a selection of papers in the original Marâṭhî, with short English summaries, apparently issued under the orders of the Government of Bombay, though we are informed that they accept no responsibility for the comments and views of the Editor, who remains anonymous.

It may at once be admitted that the materials will be of great value to all students of the history of the Marâṭhâs, that powerful combination of Kunbi, Dhangar and Koli, which in reaction against the penetration of Musalman conquerors into the Deccan, replaced the fallen Hindu domination of Vijayanagar by a new and more powerful Hindu confederacy.

These papers deal with the following events :—

1. The Battle of Panipat.
2. The Battle of Udgir.
3. Shâhu's Campaign against the Sîdîs.
4. Reports on Anandîbâî.
5. The League of the Barbhâîs.
6. Râmrâja's Struggle for Power.
7. Early Activities of Shâhu and Bâlâji Vishvanâth.
8. Shâhu in his Private Life.
9. Bâjîrâo and his Family.
10. Strife between Bâjîrâo and the Nizâm.
11. Shâhu's Relations with Sambhaji of Kolhâpur.
12. The Dabhades and the Conquest of Gujarât.

The text of the volumes is in *Devanâgarî*, but interesting examples of the *Moḍî* originals, including the actual handwriting of Shâhu and other well known characters are given. The Editor holds that the new materials now published tend "to fix the chief responsibility for the disastrous events at Panipat on the Peshwa himself, who was either fast losing health or over confident of his power, or too much addicted to the pursuit of pleasure to spare his attention for graver concerns at a distance." Few will be found to quarrel with this verdict, though some allowance must be made for the doubtful loyalty of many influential supporters among the Marâṭhâ chiefs, after the wonderful personality of Śivajî had been removed from supreme control. The Marâṭhâ power really owed its downfall to intrigue and dissensions from within.

It is related, in part II, how the Musalman Power in the South of India, after the victory of Udgir, was saved only by the disastrous course of events in the North. Particularly instructive are the papers dealing with the attempts to subdue the Sîdî of Janjira. We are told that "one thing that stands out prominently in reading these papers is the utter confusion and mismanagement on the part of the Marâṭhâs, due to lack of organization," Shâhu stinted his forces in supplies and munitions, and placed no confidence in his commanders. In these conditions, failure was inevitable.

Part 8, with some new and very interesting details of Shâhu's private life, will repay careful study. We read picturesque details of his love of horses, dogs and rare birds. He writes to the Peshwa, away on a Mission in Northern India, to keep his eyes open "for Arab horses, musk deer and yaks," is clamant for good-looking dancing girls, and keenly devoted to the manly sport of tiger shooting, as was his famous grandfather.

Here we must leave these papers for want of space to illustrate them further.

The work of editing appears to be well done, and the subsequent issues will be awaited with much interest.

R. E. E.

JOURNAL OF THE BOMBAY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, vol. III, pts. 1 and 2, Mar. and Sept., 1930.

The Journal of the Bombay Historical Society continues, under the guidance of Fr. H. Heras, to do useful work. In the issue for March 1930 Fr. G. Schurhammer, S.J., writes on Iniquitriberim and Betuperumal, Chera and Pândya kings in southern India in 1544, quoting from the letters of St. Francis Xavier, and Mr. M. K. Trilokekar discusses the career of the French adventurer, St. Lubin. In the number for September, we notice a comprehensive bibliography of Indian history for the year 1928, and articles on Shivaji's visit to Benares by Prof. A. S. Altekar, and a Marmuri copper-plate grant of the Western Chalukya Satyâśraya by Prof. K. G. Kandangar. The series of extracts from the Dutch diaries of the Castle of Batavia (*Monumenta Historiæ Indiæ*) is continued in both issues.

H. E. A. C.

INDIAN STUDIES.

No. 3.

THE NÂGAR BRÂHMAṆS AND THE BENGAL KÂYASTHAS.

BY PROF. D. R. BHANDARKAR, PH.D., F.A.S.B.

TWENTY years ago I published an article in this *Journal*, Vol. XL. p. 32 ff., showing that there was a racial identity or rather affinity between the Kâyasthas of Bengal and the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs of Bombay Gujarât. There were no less than thirteen Śarmans or 'name-endings' which were in vogue among the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs nearly 700 years ago. They are also called Âmushyâyaṇas,[1] which means 'clan names.' Some of these Śarmans or Âmushyâyaṇas were Datta, Ghosha, Varman, Nâga, Mitra and so forth. These are now to be found as surnames amongst the Kâyasthas of Bengal. But that they were in use amongst the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs 700 years ago and even much earlier was shown by me by reference to some of the Valabhi inscriptions which go back to the sixth century A.D. It was pointed out that such Âmushyâyaṇas as Mitra, Trâta and Datta were found attached to the personal names of many Brâhmaṇ grantees of these epigraphs who hailed from Ânandapura (Vaḍnagar) and who consequently could be no other than the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs. The conclusion was thus irresistible that there was some sort of racial affinity, if not identity, between the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs of Gujarât and Kâṭhiâwâṛ and the Kâyasthas of Bengal.

The chain of evidence was not, however, regarded as complete at that time, as it was not proved, in the first place, that the surnames now used by the Bengali Kâyasthas were in vogue in Bengal as early as the Valabhi inscriptions and, secondly, that they were prevalent also amongst the Brâhmaṇs of ancient Bengal and Orissa, as they doubtless were among the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs of ancient Gujarât. No epigraphic evidence of irrefragable character was available when my article was published. Epigraphy has, however, made considerable progress during the last twenty years, and we are now in a position to say something definite on each point. As regards the first question, a careful study of the inscriptions clearly shows that the Kâyastha surnames were in existence long long before the Muhammadan invasion of Bengal. Thus in the copper-plate grants of the Sena kings Vijayasena, Ballâlasena and Lakshmaṇasena, we trace such names as Śâlâḍḍa-Nâga, Hari-Ghosha, and Nârâyaṇa-Datta[2] among those of the Officers specified at the end. But it is no wonder if these Kâyastha surnames are found in these and other Bengal records of the eleventh and twelfth century A.D., because this period is contiguous with the Muhammadan invasion, with which begins the medieval and modern history of India. What we are principally concerned with here is to ascertain to what earliest age the Bengali Kâyastha surnames can be traced. And in this connection it is not at all necessary to take note of every inscription which contains such a name or names. Let us pass over at least five or six centuries and see whether we can detect any Kâyastha surnames earlier. One such group of inscriptions was found more than twenty years ago in the Faridpur district of Bengal. They were four copper-plate grants pertaining to the sixth century A.D. Two of these were issued by Dharmâditya, one by Gopachandra and one by Samâchâradeva.[3] The first three were edited by F. E. Pargiter and the last by Mr. Nalinikanta Bhattasali. All these records specify the names of officials belonging to manifold ranks, from the provincial governor right down to petty village officials. And here it is not at all difficult to perceive that their names end in what are known at present as Kâyastha surnames. Thus among the provincial governors we have to notice Sthâṇu-Datta, Nâga-Deva and Jîva-Datta. Some of the minor officials named are Naya-Sena, Kula-Chandra, Satya-Chandra, Guṇa-Chandra, Soma-Ghosha and so forth. It will be seen that the name endings here, such as Datta, Deva, Chandra and

[1] They are called both Śarmans and Âmushyâyaṇas in the *Nâgara-pushpâñjali*, Part III. p. 65 ff. and p. 78 ff. Nâgarotpatti by Gaṅgâśaṅkar Pañcholî, however, speaks of them as Âmushyâyaṇas only (pp. 24 and 30). The term *âmushyâyaṇa* is explained as eponymous clans in the *Nâgarakhaṇḍa* of the *Skandapurâṇa*, Chap. 107, v. 73 ff.

[2] *Inscr. of Bengal* (Varendra Res. Soc.), Vol. III. pp. 64, 75, 88, 97 and 103.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, 1910, pp. 195-6, pp. 200-1, and pp. 204-5; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII. pp. 76-7.

Ghosha are the same as the Kâyastha surnames of Bengal. But perhaps the earliest records where such surnames are traceable are the five celebrated copper-plate charters[4] of the early Gupta kings found at Dâmodarpur in the Dinâjpur district of Bengal. The earliest of these again is dated G. E. 124 = 442 A.D., and the latest G. E. 214 = 532 A.D. These charters throw a flood of light on the system of administration prevalent under the Imperial Guptas. The provinces were ruled by governors appointed by the king, but the districts comprised in them were held by *vishayapatis* selected by the provincial governors. And further the district towns themselves were administered by the *vishayapati* helped by a council of *Nagara-śreshṭhin*, *Sârthavâha*, *Prathama-Kulika* and *Prathama-Kâyastha*. One minor but not insignificant official of the district was the *Pustapâla*. Now in these Dâmodarpur copper-plates when the names of these different officials are specified, we find them also ending in Kâyastha surnames. Thus the provincial governors whose names are therein mentioned are Chirâta-Datta, Brahma-Datta and Jaya-Datta. The *vishayapatis* are Vetra-Varman and Svayambhû-Deva. The officers who formed their councils are Dhṛiti-Pâla, Bandhu-Mitra, Dhṛiti-Mitra, Śâmba-Pâla, Ribhu-Pâla, Vasu-Mitra, Vara-Datta, Vipra-Pâla, Sthâṇu-Datta, Mati-Datta and Skanda-Pâla. The *pustapâlas* named in these grants are Riṣi-Datta, Jaya-Nandin, Vibhu-Datta, Patra-Dâsa, Vishṇu-Datta, Vijaya-Nandin, Sthâṇu-Nandin, Nara-Nandin, Gopa-Datta and Bhaṭa-Nandin.

We have thus before us two lists of the names of officers, namely, those specified in the Faridpur and those in the Dâmodarpur grants. And it will be noticed that most of them terminate in *Chandra*, *Datta*, *Dâsa*, *Deva*, *Ghosha*, *Mitra*, *Nandin* and *Varman*, which correspond to the Kâyastha surnames of Bengal. The Sanskrit language is, however, so elastic that it is possible to contend that these name-endings need not be taken as surnames at all, but considered as integral parts of the whole individual names. Thus Skandapâla need not necessarily denote a person called Skanda and surnamed Pâla, but rather an individual who was named Skandapâla in the sense of "protected by the god Skanda.". It is quite possible to explain most of these names in this manner, but this cannot explain them all. For what explanation can be forthcoming of such names as Soma-Ghosha, Chirâta-Datta, Bandhu-Mitra, Patra-Dâsa, Nara-Nandin, Bhaṭa-Nandin and so forth? What philological ingenuity can interpret Chirâta-Datta and Patra-Dâsa, for instance? Again, what we have to bear in mind is that we have here a large number of names, and there is hardly any one among them which does not end in a Kâyastha surname. Even if we take such names as Vetra-Varman and Patra-Dâsa, which to a non-Bengali look like ordinary names, we know that the name-endings here also correspond to the Kâyastha surnames Barman and Dâs, though they are commonly regarded as the name suffixes of the Kshatriya and Śûdra communities. What again can better explain the two names—Dhṛiti-Mitra and Dhṛiti-Pâla, where Dhṛiti forms the first component? Philology, of course, can explain the former by *dhṛiter=mitraṃ* (*Dhṛitimitraḥ*) and the latter by *dhṛitiṃ pâlayat=îti* (*Dhṛitipâlaḥ*). Mitra and Pâla are well-known surnames, but Dhṛiti is not. Common sense, therefore, dictates that Dhṛiti is the individual name of both and that whereas Mitra is the family name of one Dhṛiti, Pâla is that of the other Dhṛiti. It is therefore difficult to avoid the conclusion that all these names of officers are full names, each consisting of the individual and the family name, the last of these, that is, the family names, being identical with the Kâyastha surnames. And as the earliest of these inscriptions is dated 442 A.D., it is incontrovertible that the Kâyastha surnames are traceable as early as the fifth century A.D. It must not however be thought that the officers who bore these names were all of the Kâyastha caste, because Kâyastha at this early period was an office designation and had not crystallised into a caste. We have already seen that the Dâmodarpur copper-plates themselves speak of a Prathama-Kâyastha side by side with Nagara-Śreshṭhin, Sârthavâha and Prathama-Kulika, who together formed the administrative board of a district town. This itself shows that like Nagara-Śreshṭhin

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 113 ff.

and others, Prathama-Kâyastha was an office designation. Corresponding to Prathama-Kâyastha was the term Jyeshṭha-Kâyastha which occurs as an office designation in two of the Faridpur copper-plates adverted to above. In fact, the earliest mention of Kâyastha that we meet with is in the *Yâjñavalkya-smṛiti* (I. 336),[5] the compilation of which is generally referred to 350 A.D. There it seems to be used in the sense of 'an officer.'[6] At any rate, there is nothing in the text to show that it denotes any particular caste. And, in fact, Kâyastha as a caste does not seem to have sprung into existence before the ninth century A.D. When, therefore, we trace Kâyastha surnames in the names of officers in the charters mentioned above, it does not follow that they were borne by those who were Kâyastha by caste.

It is clear from the above evidence that the Kâyastha surnames in Bengal can be traced as early as the fifth century A.D., even earlier than the time of the Valabhi plates which contain the names of the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs. The question that now arises is whether there are any inscriptions in Eastern India which show that there were Brâhmaṇs in Bengal and Orissa who, like the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs, bore name-endings identical with Kâyastha surnames. The records in point were no doubt published after I wrote the article, but though they have now been before scholars for a good many years, the evidence furnished by them has somehow escaped them. And it was a Bengal Kâyastha, Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, who saw it sometime ago and brought it to the prominent attention of historians, in the shape of an article entitled "Grant of Bhâskar Varman of Kâmarûpa and the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs." The article was published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1930, p. 60 ff., and is so important that no serious student of the ancient history of India can afford to ignore it. The records bearing on the point are three in number. One of these is the inscription published by MM. Padmanatha Bhattacharyya Vidyavinoda in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII. p. 65 ff. Epigraphists need not be told that in 1912 three copper-plates were discovered at Nidhanpur in Pañchakhaṇḍa, Sylhet, connected with a grant of Bhâskaravarman, pertaining to the Pushyavarman family of Prâgjyotisha (Assam). These plates were three in number, and when the Mahâmahopâdhyâya edited them, he rightly remarked that they did not complete the original grant and that some plates were missing. Three of these last have now been discovered and published by the learned Paṇḍit in the same *Journal*, Vol. XIX. p. 118 ff. and p. 246 ff. They are of extreme importance, because they enumerate many Brâhmaṇ grantees of many *gotras* and surnames. This importance somehow escaped the notice of the lynx-eyed editor, but not of Mr. J. C. Ghosh, who, in the article referred to above, pointed out that these grantees, though they were Brâhmaṇs, bore name-endings which were Kâyastha surnames. Fortunately the Mahâmahopâdhyâya has set forth a list of these donees with their Veda, *gotra* and name, who are no less than 205 in number. If we carefully examine this list, we notice the following Kâyastha *padavîs* assumed by them, namely Bhûti (Nos. 18, 28, 74), Dâma (Nos. 16, 17, 105), Dâsa (Nos. 79, 112, 113), Datta (Nos. 14, 15, 41, 62, 83, 108), Deva (Nos. 11-13, 39, 55-9), Ghosha (Nos. 9, 10, 93, 99), Kîrtti (No. 95), Kuṇḍa (Nos. 44-50), Pâla (No. 77), Pâlita (Nos. 33-37), Sena (No. 30), Soma (Nos. 31, 32, 94), V(B)asu (Nos. 2, 7), and so forth. The conclusion is irresistible that there was a time when even the Brâhmaṇs in Bengal adopted surnames which are now thought to be the conspicuous feature of the Kâyastha community.

It is true that the Nidhanpur plates which contain the above names were found in the Sylhet district, which falls under Assam. But linguistically and culturally Sylhet forms an integral part of Bengal, though for the purposes of administration it is now attached to Assam. So the Brâhmaṇ donees who bear Kâyastha surnames must be taken as settled in Bengal, though in the easternmost part of the province. Now the question that we have to consider is: to what period have these donees to be assigned? The Nidhanpur charter, as stated above, was issued by Bhâskaravarman of Prâgjyotisha, who was a contemporary and ally

5 For a full interpretation of this verse, see p. 47 below.

6 See also *Vishṇu-smṛiti*, VII. 3.

of Harsha of Kanauj. It does not however register the original grant, which was made, not by him but by Bhûtivarman (=Mahâbhûtavarman), his great-great-grandfather. Owing to some mishap, we are told, the plates were burnt, and the grant was renewed by Bhâskaravarman in favour of those to whom it was originally issued. The Brâhmaṇ donees specified in this epigraph belong therefore to the time, not of Bhâskaravarman but of Bhûtivarman, not to the first half of the seventh century A.D. but to at least the beginning of the sixth. The second question that here engages our mind is to determine where the land granted was situated. According to the Mahâmahopâdhyâya it was somewhere in North Bengal, not far from Karṇasuvarṇa, from where the grant was renewed. He however felt that all was not right as the land donated was far distant from the place where the plates were actually exhumed. But Mr. Ghosh in his article has adduced some cogent reasons to show that the land could be located in Pañchakhaṇḍa itself from where the plates came and where the Sâmpradâyika Brâhmaṇs of Sylhet are settled. Mr. Ghosh's identification seems more acceptable as the place granted is thus not far removed from where the plates were unearthed and as the Sâmpradâyika Brâhmaṇs can thus be naturally looked for as the descendants of the Brâhmaṇs who, from the Nidhanpur inscription, seem to have been settled there in a colony. We thus see that as early as 500 A.D., there was a settlement of Brâhmaṇs in the easternmost part of Bengal who bore name-endings which are now thought to be the characteristic surnames of the Bengal Kâyastha community.

When we find a colony of Brâhmaṇs established in a part of old Bengal, it is not to be expected that there were not further settlements of the same Brâhmaṇ community in other parts of East India. And, as a matter of fact, we have found not one but two more inscriptions in this region which mention Brâhmaṇs with Kâyastha surnames. Here, too, we are indebted to the same Mr. Ghosh for having first drawn our attention to them. One of these inscriptions is the copper-plate charter of Lokanâtha[7] discovered in the Tippera district of Bengal. It registers grants of lands to a settlement of a hundred Brâhmaṇs in the forest district of Suvvuṅga. Here too we find that the names of the Brâhmaṇ donees end in Kâyastha *padavîs*, such as Bhûti, Chandra, Dâma, Dâsa, Datta, Deva, Ghosha, Mitra, Nandin, Śarman and Soma. In line 29 the record is dated ...... *dhike chatuśchatvâriṅśat-saṃvatsare Phâlguna-mâse* ...... The letters *dhike*, with which these words commence, show that the date was at least 144, and not 44 as supposed by Mr. Radhagovinda Basak who has edited the grant. If we refer it to the Harsha era, as seems most likely from the palæography of the record, we obtain 750 A.D. as its English equivalent. It is thus clear that about the middle of the eighth century the same community of Brâhmaṇs as are referred to in the Nidhanpur plates are found two centuries later in the Tippera grant of Lokanâtha also. The second inscription which associates Kâyastha surnames with Brâhmaṇs is the copper-plate charter of Śubhakara[8] found at Neulpur in the Cuttack District of Orissa. Some of the name-endings of the Brâhmaṇ grantees specified in this epigraph are Bhûti, Chandra, Datta, Deva, Ghosha, Kara, Kuṇḍa, Nâga, Rakshita, Śarman, and Vardhana. Now we know that Dr. Sylvain Lévi has assigned the date 795 A.D. to Śubhakara from a Chinese source,[9] so that we find that in the second half of the eighth century these Brâhmaṇs had migrated southward from Pañchakhaṇḍa near Sylhet first to the Tippera district and afterwards to Orissa.

One thing that is worthy of note about this Neulpur charter is that three of the officers mentioned at its close have names ending in Datta, namely, Samudra-Datta, Brahma-Datta, and Eḍa-Datta. Another noteworthy thing about it and other records of Śubhakara's family is that all its male members bear names terminating in Kara ; and, as if to leave no doubt on this point, we have two inscriptions[10] of these rulers where their family has actually been called Kara, a surname which is found, not only among the Brâhmaṇ donees of the Neulpur

[7] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV. p. 306 ff. [8] *Ibid.*, Vol. XV. p. 3 ff. [9] *Ibid.*, pp. 363-4.
[10] JBORS., Vol. II. p. 421 ff. ; Vol. V. p. 571 ff.

grant but also among the Bengal Kâyasthas of modern days. What is further noticeable about these inscriptions is that among the officers mentioned towards the end we can trace such surnames as Bhadra, Deva, Vardhana, Nâga and Sena. We have thus not only Brâhmaṇs, but also rulers and officers bearing Kâyastha surnames.

Now the first point we have to discuss here is about the race or extraction of the Brâhmaṇ grantees who, as we have seen in detail, bore names ending in Kâyastha *padavîs*. A similar thing was noticeable about the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs of Gujarât and Kâṭhiâwâṛ, who, as I have remarked above, bore 700 years ago such Śarmans as Datta, Ghosha, Varman, Nâga and Mitra. Is it possible that these Brâhmaṇ donees also could be Nâgar Brâhmaṇs ? Is there any evidence in favour of this supposition ? Here, too, Mr. Ghosh has given some indications which enable us to answer this question in the affirmative, so far at any rate as the Pañchakhaṇḍa (Sylhet) Brâhmaṇs are concerned. In the first place, it is well-known that the tutelary deity of the Nâgar caste is Hâṭakeśvara. In fact, it may be laid down as a general rule that wherever there is a *liṅga* called Hâṭakeśvara, there must be some sort of settlement of the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs or Banias. Now there is a *liṅga* of precisely this name existing in the Pañchakhaṇḍa.[11] This *liṅga* is not a thing of yesterday, but must have been established centuries ago. It seems to have been referred to even in the Tejpur plates of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Vanamâlavarmadeva of Prâgjyotisha, ruling apparently at Haruppeśvara. The king is represented in this inscription to have rebuilt a temple of Hâṭakeśvara and made endowments to it. The record was first read by F. Jenkins with the help of a Paṇḍit,[12] long ago, when the study of Indian epigraphy was in its infancy. He thus wrongly read *Hetuka-śûline* as the name of the god, which was correctly restored to *Hâṭaka-śûline* by MM. Padmanatha Bhattacharyya,[13] who revised the whole transcript of the inscription. There can be no doubt that the deity is to be identified with Hâṭakeśvara Mahâdeva so celebrated at present in Pañchakhaṇḍa. Vanamâlavarmadeva did not build, but rather he rebuilt, the temple to this god. This king lived *circa* 830-865 A.D. The temple must thus have been in existence at least one century earlier. We thus find not only that there was a settlement of Brâhmaṇs at Pañchakhaṇḍa who, like the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs of the Valabhi charters, assumed surnames corresponding to the Bengal Kâyastha *padavîs*, but also that they were, like the latter, worshippers of Hâṭakeśvara. Secondly, it is well-known that the author of the *Advaita-prakâśa* was a Sylhet Brâhmaṇ. He was a pupil of Advaitâchârya and a contemporary of Chaitanya, the founder of Bengal Vaishṇavism. But it is worthy of note that he calls himself, not simply Îśâna, but Îśâna-Nâgara. Here then we have a clear instance of a Sylhet Brâhmaṇ styling himself a Nâgar.[14] The reasonable conclusion is that he was a Nâgar Brâhmaṇ, that is, one out of the many of that caste who were established there.

Thirdly, the attention of scholars may be drawn to a passage which occurs in the Pâradârika section of the Kâmasûtra of Vâtsyâyana. The section is concerned with zenana women and their protection. That many wanton practices prevailed in the palaces in early ages as now is too well known to dwell upon. This section tells us how in different countries palace women came in contact with male outsiders. It speaks of how this criminal commerce takes place among the Aparântikas, Âbhîrakas, Vatsagulmakas, Vaidharbhakas, Strîrâjyakas, Saindhavas, Himâlayas and Gauḍas. And it then informs us that in Vaṅga, Aṅga and Kaliṅga, the *Nâgara-Brâhmaṇas*[15] enter the zenana with the object of offering flowers and with the knowledge of the king. They talk to the women behind the *pardah*, and this leads to illicit union. The questions arise : what does the expression *Nâgara-Brâhmaṇâḥ* mean ?

[11] *Sylhet Gazetteer.* [12] *JASB.*, Vol. IX. p. 767.

[13] *Rangpur-Sâhitya-parishat-patrikâ*, Vol. IX. Pt. I, p. 23 ff.

[14] The descendants of Îśâna Nâgar are now Râḍhî Brâhmaṇs, living near Goâlundo, Farîdpur district. Similarly, one Nâgar Purushottama is reported in a Kulâchârya MS. of Sâñchâḍâṅgâ to have come from Vraja and got merged into the Mâschaṭak *gâñi* of the Râḍhî Brâhmaṇs [N.N. Vasu's *Vaṅger jâtîya-itihâs* (2nd Ed.), *Brâhmaṇa-kâṇḍa*, Vol. I. Pt. I, p. 299, n.].

[15] *Kâmasûtra*, V. 6, 41 (p. 301 of Bombay Ed.)

Does it mean simply "the Brâhmaṇs of the town"? If so, what is the force of the word 'town' here? Is it implied that the Brâhmaṇs of the villages are innocent, but not of the towns? Besides, palaces must always be situated in the capital towns. Hence the Brâhmaṇs who are most likely to come in contact with the palace damsels must be the Brâhmaṇs of the *nagara* or town. Hence there was no need of using the word ***nâgara*** to qualify ***Brâhmaṇâḥ***. As a matter of fact, the Brâhmaṇs of Gauḍa also were notorious for their carnal practices, and are mentioned in connection with the palace ladies of Gauḍa. But they are there called simply *Brâhmaṇas* and not *Nâgara-Brâhmaṇas*, though they surely belonged to the capital town of Gauḍa. If we thus impartially consider the expression *Nâgara-—Brâhmaṇâḥ*, it seems that here the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs areintended. And if this interpretation of ours is entitled to any weight, we have further to infer that they were in the time of Vâtsyâyana settled in Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga, and not in Gauḍa, which is distinguished from these countries. This also throws light on the name *Nâgarakâḥ* which occurs twice in the Kâmasûtra.[16] In both places the term is explained by the commentator to mean *Pâṭaliputrakâḥ*. But this interpretation does not appear plausible, because at the place where it occurs first, it is distinguished from Gauḍa, and where it is mentioned next it is distinguished from Prâchya. Both Gauḍa and Prâchya included Pâṭaliputra and the surrounding districts. On the other hand, if *Nâgaraka* is taken to denote Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga, where the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs were settled, this sense will suit in both the places just referred to, because these countries have already been distinguished from Gauḍa and Prâchya in the Kâmasûtra.

I have elsewhere shown that the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs were called Nâgar, because they originally came from Nagar or Nagarkoṭ, the old name of Kâṅgḍâ, which is situated in the Panjâb in the Sawâlakh or Sapâdalaksha hills.[17] There can be no doubt that they were Sapâdalaksha Brâhmaṇs. Now, if we turn to the *Karatoyâ-mâhâtmya*, which describes the holy sites of Mahâsthâna or old Puṇḍravardhana, which is in the Bogra District of Bengal and which stands on the west bank of the river, we find that, curiously enough, there is a reference, not once, but twice to these Sapâdalaksha Brâhmaṇs.[18] The first of these is in connection with the *sabhâ* of Râma, locally identifiable with *Paraśurâmer Sabhâbâṭi*. The second reference consists in showing that the special holiness of Puṇḍravardhana consists in being presided over as much by the Sapâdalaksha Brâhmaṇs as by the gods, Skanda, Vishṇu, Balabhadra, Śiva and so forth. This is an unmistakable indication that these Sapâdalaksha Brâhmaṇs, who can be no other than the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs, held a position in the estimation of the people which was as prominent and sacred as the gods themselves. It is not necessary to assume that these Brâhmaṇs came to Bengal direct from the Sawâlakh hills. Even when the Châhamânas were settled in the heart of Râjputânâ, they were known as Sapâdalakshîyas centuries later.[19] The same thing may have happened in regard to the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs also.

It is a well-known practice of a people or tribe to name the places, provinces or rivers of their new settlement after the old one from where they have migrated. It will be shown later on that Ânandapura (=Vaḍnagar), e.g., was known as Nagara, after the Nâgars were settled there. They had more than one such settlement named Nagara. So far as Bengal is concerned, there is one village called Nagar in the Dacca district and another in Sylhet. There are, again, two rivers of that name in North Bengal,—one running from Purnea to Dinâjpur and the other from Bogrâ to Râjshâhî.[20] All these places are not far removed from the Mâldah district, where the Khâlimpur copper-plate was discovered.

There is yet another piece of evidence which we have to consider in this connection. It is supplied by the charter of Dharmapâla found at Khâlimpur in the Mâldah District of

[16] II. 5-30 (p. 131) and II. 9, 27 (p. 172). [17] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL. 1911, p. 34.

[18] *Mahasthan and its Environs* (Varen. Res. Society's Monograph No. 2), p. 11 and p. 26, vs. 22 and 24; also Kâyastha-Samâj (Mâsik), B.S. 1336, pp. 496-7.

[19] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL. 1911, p. 26. [20] *JASB.*, Vol. LXV. Pt. I, p. 117.

Bengal. It says that Nârâyaṇavarman, a feudatory chieftain of this Pâla sovereign, had installed a god called Nanna-Nârâyaṇa who was, we are further told, placed principally in the charge of the Lâṭa Brâhmaṇs (*dvijas*).[21] Four villages were granted by Dharmapâla to this god and his priests. And the question arises: who could be these Lâṭa Brâhmaṇs? They are obviously the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs alluded to above. Nâgar Brâhmaṇs, we know, hail from Ânandapura or Vaḍnagar, which is situated in Gujarât. And Lâṭa was one of the ancient names for Gujarât. When all these pieces of evidence are brought to a focus, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs were settled in Bengal and Orissa. In fact, these Brâhmaṇs were not the only caste from Lâṭa that was settled in Bengal about this time. It deserves to be noticed that all the Pâla copper-plates, except that of Dharmapâla, speak of *Châṭas*, *Bhâṭas* and menials from Karṇâṭa and Lâṭa as being settled in Bengal in the Pâla period. The *Kulikas*, or cultivators, were of four different nationalities, such as Gauḍa, Mâlava, Khaśa and Hûṇa. The population of Bengal was thus, in the Pâla period, of a composite character.

Let us now proceed one step further and see whether or how the Kâyasthas of Bengal were connected with the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs who had immigrated into Bengal. Before we can come to any conclusion it is desirable that we should know (1) what the term *Kâyastha* meant originally, (2) when it became a caste name, and, above all, (3) what the term signified in Bengal before it denoted a caste of that name. It has been pointed out above that the earliest mention of *Kâyastha* is found in the *Yâjñavalkya-smṛiti* (I. 336). The verse in question runs thus:—

Châṭa-taskara-durvṛitta-mahâsâhasik-âdibhiḥ |
pîḍyamânâḥ prajâ rakshet Kâyasthaiś=cha viśeshataḥ ||

"(A king) should protect (his) subjects, when oppressed by deceits, thieves, wicked people, great adventurers and others, especially by the Kâyasthas."

What does Kâyastha mean here? Vijñâneśvara understands by it the scribes (*lekhaka*) and accountants (*gaṇaka*). But how can mere scribes and accountants be a menace to the people, a menace even more serious than deceits, thieves and desperados? In the verse (v. 338) following it, Yâjñavalkya advises the king to ascertain from his spies how the officers appointed for the governance of his kingdom are demeaning themselves, to honour those who are well-behaved and destroy those who are otherwise. Both these verses may be compared to the following lines from Manu (VII. 123).

Râjño hi raksh-âdhikṛitâḥ parasv-âdâyinaḥ śaṭhâḥ |
bhṛityâ bhavanti prâyeṇa tebhyo rakshed=imâḥ prajâḥ ||

"For the servants of the king, who are appointed to protect (the people), generally become knaves and seize the property of others; let him protect these subjects against them."

It will be seen from the above that both Manu and Yâjñavalkya warn a king against the oppression of his people by the officers appointed to protect them, especially those officers who are *śaṭha* and *parasv-âdâyin* and who are thus on the same plane as the *châṭa*, *taskara*, etc., of Yâjñavalkya. It may therefore not be unreasonable to infer that the Kâyasthas referred to by the latter stand for officers appointed for the protection of the subjects.

The next reference to Kâyastha that we have to note is contained in the *Vishṇu-smṛiti* (VII. 3), which runs thus: *râj-âdhikaraṇe tan-niyukta-Kâyastha-kṛitaṃ tad-adhyaksha-kara-chihnitaṃ râjasâkshikam*, "(A document) is (said to be) attested by the king, when it has been executed by a Kâyastha appointed by him in a government department and signed with his hand by its head (the judge)." Evidently Kâyastha here means

[21] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV. p. 250, ll. 50-1. It is also worthy of note that Keshabchandra Bhattacharya's *Vange Dâkshiṇâtya-Vaidika* (p. 46) speaks of a village called Gujarât in the District of Howrah from where came a Dâkshiṇâtya Vaidik family of Vâtsya *gotra* and surnamed Vaidya. Vaidya, as a family name, is found among the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs, but not in any higher caste of Bengal except the Dâkshiṇâtya Vaidiks.

a joint assessor or commissioner with the judge of a court, such as we find in Act IX of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*.

Let us now see what light inscriptions throw on the Kâyastha problem. In the first place, they teach that the Kâyastha caste had been formed only as early as the ninth century A.D. Two instances will suffice. The Sañjân copper-plate charter of the Râshṭrakûṭa sovereign Amoghavarsha I, dated Saka-saṃvat 793=871 A.D., we know, was drawn up by Guṇadhavala, son of Vatsarâja, who was born in the Vâlabha Kâyastha[22] lineage and was a *Senabhogika*,[23] or clerk, in the *Dharmâdhikaraṇa*, or Court of Judicature. We thus see that there was a Kâyastha caste of the name of Vâlabha to which Guṇadhavala belonged, and the occupation of this caste seems to have been that of a clerk in a court of law, corresponding no doubt to the function of a Kâyastha described in the *Vishṇu-smṛiti* and the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*. The second evidence of the rise of the Kâyastha caste in the ninth century is supplied by the Gurmha plate of Jayâdityadeva (II) of the Malayakeṭu family. The plate is dated V.S. 927=870 A.D., and registers the grant of a village to Kâyastha Keśava, son of Kâyastha Dhemuka and grandson of Kâyastha Rudra.[24] As the grantee, his father and grandfather are all called Kâyastha, it means that they pertained to the Kâyastha caste, which was thus in existence in North India in the second half of the ninth century. And what is curious in this connection is that this family, we are told, had the surname (*paddhati*) of Singha, which is still found as a *padavî* among the Bengal Kâyasthas. Although we have thus clear proof about the Kâyastha caste being formed in the ninth century, there is nothing to show that the Kâyasthas were confined to the sole occupation of a *karaṇa*, or clerk, as is thought at present. This is indicated by the Gurmha epigraph itself, because, although in l. 23 the Kâyastha donee Keśava is styled Karaṇika, another Kâyastha is mentioned as the writer of this record, namely, Valadduka, who, though he was a Kâyastha, is styled *mahâkshapaṭalika*, whose office was of course distinct from that of a *karaṇika*.

The two inscriptions noted above belong to the ninth century, and it may be contended that things were different three hundred years later and that Kâyastha had come to be identical with Karaṇika. To take one instance, Jalhaṇa, who wrote the grants of the Gâhaḍavâla king Govindachandra dated V.S. 1171 and 1172, is described in the first record as *Karaṇik-odgata* and *Chitragupt-opama* and in the second as *śrî-Vâstavyakul-odbhûta-Kâyastha-ṭhakkura*.[25] This shows that Kâyastha had become synonymous with Karaṇika in the twelfth century. If a further instance is required, it is supplied by the Ajayagaḍh rock inscription of the Chandella king Bhojavarman, which sets forth the exploits of a Vâstavya Kâyastha family. In the very second verse of this epigraph[26] we are informed that there were thirty-six towns occupied by men devoted to the function of the *karaṇa* and that the most excellent of these was Ṭakkârikâ, to which this Kâyastha family belonged. This also indicates, it may be argued, that Karaṇika was but another term for Kâyastha. It is not, however, possible to accept this view as perfectly logical. All that we can legitimately infer from the above evidence is that one Kâyastha sub-caste, namely, Vâstavya, had adopted the function of the Karaṇika as its principal occupation, but it does not follow that all Kâyasthas had become identified with the Karaṇikas, or that the term *Kâyastha* did not continue as an office designation. We have thus at least one instance of the writer of a

[22] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII. p. 251, ll. 76-7. Soḍḍhala, author of the *Udayasundarî Kathâ* (*Gaek. Or. Series*. No. XI. p. 11) was a Vâlabha Kâyastha. He derives Vâlabha from Valabhi and traces his descent from Kalâditya, brother of Śilâditya of the Valabhi family. Vâlamya mentioned in a Bhirmal inscr. (*B. G.*, Vol. V. Pt. I, p. 47, l. 5) seems to be a mistake for Vâlabhya.

[23] For *Senabhogika*, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI. p. 285, n. 7, and p. 294, l. 81 ; also Vol. V. pp. 231, 233 and 234.

[24] *JASB.*, 1900, Pt. I, p. 92, ll. 13-14.

[25] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII p. 153, l. 21, and Vol. IV. p. 104, ll. 26-7.

[26] *Ibid.*, Vol. I. p. 333 ff.

charter of the twelfth century styling himself, not simply as Kâyastha but as Karaṇa-Kâyastha.[27] The term Karaṇa-Kâyastha is met with also in two Chamba copper-plates as the designation of the writers of those documents.[28] This may also be compared with *sadbauddha-karaṇakâyastha-ṭhakkura śrî-Amitâbhêna likhitam=idaṃ Veṇugrâme Vikramâditya-dêva-saṃ, 1492 Phâlguna-sudi 4 Kuje* occurring in Bengali characters in the colophon of a MS. of *Bodhicharyâvatâra.*[29] But what can Karaṇa-Kâyastha mean? As Kâyastha is here conjoined with Karaṇa, it is obvious that Kâyastha must denote a mere officer, in this particular case, an officer who is in charge of *karaṇa*. This shows that there were Kâyasthas who were in charge of different departments ; in other words, there were Kâyasthas also entrusted with duties other than those of a Karaṇika. This is clear also from a critical study of the concluding portions of the Gâhaḍavâla charters where are specified the names of officers connected with the grant. Whereas we have thus some who are Karaṇika-Ṭhakkura (*List Inscr. North Ind.*, Nos. 195, 202, 207, etc.), we have some who are Kâyastha-Ṭhakkura (*ibid.*, Nos. 188, 216, 249) and some who are Akshapaṭalika-Ṭhakkura (*ibid.*, Nos. 368, 369, 433) as the officers who wrote the grant. It will be seen that there were some Kâyasthas who were neither Karaṇikas nor Akshapaṭalikas. We have also evidence to show that the office of the Karaṇika was not the monopoly of the Kâyastha communities, but was held sometimes even by the Brâhmaṇs. We have thus an inscription dated V.S. 1228=1171 A.D. and found at Dhoḍ in the Udaipur State, Râjpûtânâ, which records a benefaction of the Karaṇika Brâhmaṇ Châhaḍa to the temple of Nityapramoditadeva (*ibid.*, No. 350). Then again a South-Indian grant mentions two of the Brâhmaṇ grantees as Karaṇika Timmarasa and Karaṇika Daṃvaṇa.[30] Nay, the Nidhanpur charter of Bhâskaravarman referred to above also speaks of a Brâhmaṇ donee, called Janârdanasvâmî, as Nyâya-karaṇika. It is thus evident that all Karaṇikas were not Kâyasthas, but that there were some who were Brâhmaṇs.

Let us now turn for a while to the *Râja-taraṅgiṇî*, which bristles with references to the Kâyasthas. Let us cull together a few passages from it and find out what they teach us. Thus one passage from the *Râja-taraṅgiṇî* (IV. 621) has the following: " Being besought by the Kâyasthas : ' what is the good of hardships such as the conquest of the quarters and so on ? Let wealth be obtained from your own land,' he (Jayâpîḍa) oppressed his own kingdom." The king relished the idea, and only eight verses thereafter, we are told that " with his mind eclipsed by greed, he considered the Kâyasthas as his benefactors,— Kâyasthas who gave small fractions of wealth (to the king) though they snatched away all the property (of the people). The big fishes of the sea and the kings are alike. The former consider the clouds to be donors when they let go (some drops from the water just seized from them (from the sea). The latter, alas, believe in the secret services of the wicked tribe of the Kâyasthas who deliver a few bits after openly plundering everybody "—(vs. 629-30).[31] In both the passages, the word *Kâyastha* has rightly been taken to mean " officials " by Sir Aurel Stein. That this was the state of things in Kashmîr as described by Kalhaṇa may be proved in another way. The author of the *Kathâsaritsâgara* was Somadeva, who was also a *paṇḍit* of Kashmîr. In his work (XLII. 91) we find the following line : *Saṃdhivigraha-Kâyasthena sârtha-saṃchayaiḥ*. It has been translated by C. H. Tawney as " secretary for foreign affairs." This shows that in Kashmîr the term Kâyastha was used to denote any official, especially of the higher rank. It is no use quoting further passages to show that in the *Râja-taraṅgiṇî* Kâyastha was used in the sense of ' officials in general.' One

27 *Ibid.*, Vol. VII. p. 97, l. 38.

28 *Antiquities of Chamba State* by J. Ph. Vogel, Pt. I. p. 191, l. 28 ; and p. 199, l. 21.

29 Haraprasad Sastri's *A Descrip. Cat. of Sk. MSS. in the Govt. Col.* under the care of the As. Soc. Beng., Vol. I. p. 21 (MS. 19/8067).

30 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII. p. 167.

31 See also Kalhaṇa's *Râja-taraṅgiṇî* (text), VII. 86-7.

may however be quoted in this connection, as it shows what sort of officers they were. There was a king of Kashmîr, Harsha by name, who flourished in 1089-1101 A.D. About him Kalhaṇa says as follows: "He tormented the people through the Kâyasthas by the settlement of heavy fines and nowhere let alone even a lump of clay in towns, villages and so forth "—VII. 1226. This verse shows that the Kâyasthas here referred to were district officials who realised taxes and fines from the people. This entirely agrees with the view of Aparârka, who explains the term Kâyastha occurring in the *Yâjñavalkya-smṛiti* (I. 336) referred to above by saying *Kâyasthâḥ kar-âdhikṛitâḥ*.[32] Whether the Kâyasthas of Kashmîr had developed into a caste it is difficult to say. Most probably no such caste had been formed up to the time of Kalhaṇa. In this connection may be quoted the following verse from the *Râja-taraṅgiṇî* (VIII. 2383):

Tad-antare Śivaratho dvijaḥ prachura-chakrikaḥ |
Kâyastha-pâśaḥ pâśena galam baddhvâ vyapadyata. ||

"In the meanwhile there died by strangulation that rogue (*pâśa*) of a Kâyastha, the Brâhmaṇ Śivaratha, who had been a mighty intriguer."

This passage unmistakably shows that some of the Kâyasthas of the *Râja-taraṅgiṇî* were Brâhmaṇs. Well may Sir Aurel Stein say:—"That Kalhaṇa, though probably drawn by descent and position towards the official class, was by no means partial to the latter, is shown by many a hard hit he makes at the vices of the 'Kâyasthas.' The great mass of them was undoubtedly Brâhmaṇ by caste . . . ."[33]

We will now revert to Bengal and see what light the records throw on the origin of the Kâyastha caste in this province. The first question that arises is whether the Kâyastha caste had arisen in Bengal by the end of the Sena period. Not a single inscription is known from Bengal where any officer or private individual is specified as belonging to that caste. A copper-plate grant has no doubt been recently published which speaks of the officer who drew it up as Saṃdhivigrahâdhikaraṇa-Kâyastha.[34] It is difficult, however, to determine definitively whether the term *Kâyastha* here means 'a clerk attached to,' or 'an officer in charge of,' 'the Department of Peace and War.' Anyhow there is no definite indication here that the Kâyastha caste had been formed. On the other hand, we have to note that there is a work called *Nyâyakandalî* by Śrîdhara, which is a commentary on Praśastapâda's *Vaiśeshika-sûtra*.[35] There he tells us that he composed the work at a place named Bhûrisṛishṭi in Dakshiṇa-Râḍhâ in Śaka 913=991 A.D. at the request of one Pâṇḍudâsa, who was "the head-mark of the Kâyastha community (*kula*)." This no doubt shows that the Kâyastha caste had been formed in Bengal by at least the tenth century. But it may be asked, what was the primary occupation of this caste when it sprung up in Bengal? Was it that of the writer or of the accountant? It seems it was neither. A copper-plate was discovered some time ago at Râmganj in the Dinâjpur district, containing a grant issued by Îśvaraghosha, who belonged to the Ghosha family. In the list of officials set forth therein mention is made of Mahâkâyastha who, be it noted, has been specified along with Mahâkaraṇâdhyaksha and Mahâkshapaṭalika.[36] It will thus be seen that up till the twelfth century the function of a Kâyastha in Bengal was different from that of Karaṇika, that is, the writer, or an Akshapaṭalika, that is, the accountant. What the exact duty of the Kâyastha was in Bengal at this early period is not certain. But some rays of light are shed on this point by the Khâlimpur charter of Dharmapâla. There, in the list of officials,

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32 Anand. Sk. Series, No. 46, p. 584.

33 *Râja-taraṅgiṇî* (Trans.) by M. A. Stein, Vol. I. Intro., p. 19. It is worthy of note that in Act IX. of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* Chârudatta wishes *kuśala* to the Śreshṭhin and Kâyastha. But *kuśala* can be wished only to a Brâhmaṇ according to Manu (II. 127), who is himself quoted by the Adhikaraṇika in the same Act. It seems that both these Śreshṭhin and Kâyastha were Brâhmaṇs.

34 *Ind. His. Quart.*, 1930, p. 55, ll. 17-18.

35 This was first pointed out by Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda in *The Indo-Aryan Races*, p. 198.

36 *Inscr. of Bengal*, Vol. III. p. 153, ll. 13 and 15.

Jyeshṭha-Kâyastha is mentioned and associated with Mahâmahattara, Mahattara, Daśagrâmika and their respective Karaṇas.[37] While they are thus distinguished from the Karaṇas, they are all mentioned expressly as forming the staff of the Vishaya-vyavahârins. The term *vishaya-vyavahârin* reminds us of the preamble of the Dâmodarpur copper-plates where the Vishayapati and Prathama-Kâyastha are mentioned as two members of the Board of Five who administered the district (*vishaya*) in the Gupta period. It appears that in the Pâla period the lowest unit for the governance of a district was a cluster of ten villages in charge of an official who was therefore styled Dâśagrâmika, that above him was placed a Mahattara and above the latter a Mahâmahattara, and that above every one of them was appointed a Jyeshṭha-Kâyastha, who was thus immediately below the Vishayapati or the head of a district mentioned in the same list of officials.[38] Practically the same was the case in the sixth century A.D., as appears from the Faridpur plates adverted to above. There, too, Jyeshṭha-Kâyastha is mentioned as *pramukha* with Mahattaras under him. There can therefore be no doubt as to all these officers being connected with the administration of a district. The word *Jyeshṭha-Kâyastha*, like *Prathama-Kâyastha* of the Dâmodarpur plates, indicates that there were many subordinate officers under him called simply Kâyasthas. And the Mahâmahattaras, Mahattaras and Dâśagrâmikas are apparently these Kâyasthas. It thus seems that the district officers connected principally with the collection of revenue were designated Kâyasthas in ancient Bengal, as they were in the Kashmîr of Kalhaṇa's time.

The above conclusion receives remarkable confirmation from the medieval history of Bengal. After the Muhammadan conquest this province was ruled by twelve semi-independent chiefs and is described as *bârabhuiñâr muluk*. Of those the Hindu Bhuiñâs who held sway up till the sixteenth century were all Kâyasthas. " The struggle carried on by the Bhûiñyâs of Bengal against the Mughul Emperors," says Rai Bahadur Chanda,[39] "was no less obstinate than that of the Râjputs of Râjputânâ, though, unfortunately, there were no bards in Bengal to enshrine the stirring events of this struggle in heroic ballads." " Had not these Kâyastha Bhûiñyâs of Bengal," rightly remarks the Rai Bahadur in continuation, " been inspired by a tradition of long independent rule, they could hardly have maintained this unequal struggle for so long. Not only the Bhûiñyâs, but also the minor zamîndârs of those days, were mostly Kâyasthas."[40] The question that here arises is: how did Bengal about the beginning of the Muhammadan rule come to be dominated by the Kâyastha Bhûiñâs and Kâyastha zamîndârs? The question is not difficult to answer. If the district officers in charge of revenue were designated Kâyasthas up till the twelfth century A.D., and if the Kâyasthas had already been formed into a caste, it is natural that after the overthrow of the central Hindu power, namely, that of the Senas, they should seize the various districts and turn themselves into semi-independent rulers called Bhûiñâs.

Let us now proceed to the main question about the Bengal Kâyasthas, namely, their origin. We have already seen that the Kâyasthas came to be known as a caste for the first time in the ninth century A.D., and that before that time the term *Kâyastha* had been used merely as an office designation and that neither Vishṇu nor Yâjñavalkya has mentioned it as the name of a caste. The question thus naturally arises: who were the Bengal Kâyasthas originally, before they crystallised into the present caste, that is, were they Brâhmaṇs, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas or Śûdras? The Kâyasthas of Bengal, like those of Bombay, claim to be Kshatriyas. The Brâhmaṇs of Bengal, however, look upon them as Śûdras. It has been commonly held by the Nibandhakâras of a late period that after the Nandas the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas vanished out of the Hindu social system and that only two classes remained, namely, the Brâhmaṇs and Śûdras, so that any particular caste of the modern day must

[37] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV. p. 250, ll. 47-8. [38] *Ibid.*, p. 249, l. 44. [39] *The Indo-Aryan Races*, p. 201.

[40] Jarrett's *Aîn-i-Akbarî*, p. 129, may also be read in this connection.

be either Brâhmaṇ or Śûdra. I am afraid this belief is not only not supported but even controverted by epigraphic evidence. Leaving aside the Râjpûts of Northern India, who have always been styled Kshatriyas in the old inscriptions, we find that even in Bengal most of the old ruling families such as the Pâlas and the Senas have been designated Kshatriyas. Thus the Barrackpur grant of Vijayasena speaks of his grandfather, Sâmantasena, as "an ornament of the Kshatriyas."[41] Nay, the same Sâmantasena is mentioned in the Deopâṛâ inscription of Vijayasena as being the foremost of the Brahmakshatriyas.[42] The term *Brahmakshatriya* clearly shows that the Senas were originally Brâhmaṇs but were considered to be Kshatriyas in the eleventh century. They were thus superior to any Kshatriya family of the day who were mere Kshatriyas. In fact, the Senas even when they were Kshatriyas were so proud of their Brâhmaṇ origin that Lakshmaṇasena styles himself *parama-Brahmakshatriya* in his Mâdhiânagar charter.[43]

Nor does there seem to be any force in the argument of the Bengal Kâyasthas that they are Kshatriyas. Their argument like that of the Bombay Kâyasthas is based upon a mere legend about Chitragupta or Chandrasena and not upon any epigraphic or ethnological evidence. We may therefore ignore it and start our enquiry afresh. Who could these Kâyasthas be originally? It was pointed out by me long ago that the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs had Śarmans, otherwise called Âmushyâyaṇas, which were identical with the *padavîs* of the Bengal Kâyasthas, and it was surmised that this was an indication of their racial affinity, if not of identity. The only thing wanting was the evidence to prove that there were Brâhmaṇs in ancient Bengal bearing Kâyastha surnames. That evidence, as we have now seen, has been supplied by no less than two inscriptions. Nay, we have the further evidence of an almost incontestible character that there were Nâgar Brâhmaṇs in ancient Bengal. It thus seems natural to hold that the Bengal Kâyasthas were originally none but these Nâgar Brâhmaṇs. This inference is supported by the fact that the Kâyasthas have still preserved their Brâhmaṇical *gotras* and *pravaras*. I am not unaware that objections can be raised to their Brâhmaṇ origin. It may be argued in the first place that the Śarmans of the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs are found not only among the Kâyasthas and Vaidyas but also among the Navaśâkhas and Sadgopas, and that the latter castes also bear Brâhmaṇical *gotras*. Nothing, however, can be more fallacious. Let us take the case of Kumâras, who are Sadgopas. There are two classes among them: (1) the Paśchima *kul* or the *kulins* on the west of the Ganges, and (2) the Pûrba *kul* or the *kulins* on the east of the Ganges. There are three Brâhmaṇical *gotras* amongst them, namely, Kaśyapa, Madhukulya and Bhâradvâja. The *kulins* of the Paśchima *kul* are mostly of the Kaśyapa *gotra*, and to maintain their kulinism they marry in the same *gotra*.[44] But to marry in the same *gotra* is inconceivable among Kâyasthas and Vaidyas as among the Brâhmaṇs. Or let us take again the case of Modaks who form the confectioner caste and are one of the Navaśâkhas. They, too, have Brâhmaṇical *gotras*, such as Maudgalya, Śâṇḍilya and Gautama. But two persons of the same *padavî* cannot marry amongst them though their *gotras* be different. On the contrary, persons of different *padavîs* can marry even though they belong to the same *gotra*.[45] It will thus be seen that it is not enough for a caste to have Brâhmaṇical *gotras*. What is really required is that persons of the same *gotra* shall not marry as is the case with the Brâhmaṇs. But such a custom is

[41] *Inscr. of Bengal*, Vol. III. p. 62, l. 9; also p. 110, l. 7.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 46, l. 5.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 111, l. 31.

[44] Information about this caste was supplied to me by Mr. Amritlal Kumar of the Imperial Records Department, Calcutta.

[45] *Modaka-hitaishiṇî*, B.S. 1337, Bhadra, p. 407 ff.

prevalent only among the Kâyasthas and the Vaidyas.[46] To say therefore that the Kâyasthas are on a par with the Navaśâkhas and Sadgopas so far as the Brâhmaṇical *gotras* are concerned is to confound the whole question. For, exactly like the Brâhmaṇs, they have never married in the same *gotra* though their *padavîs* were different.

The second objection that may be raised to the Brâhmaṇ origin of the Bengal Kâyasthas is that they must have borrowed their Brâhmaṇical *gotras* and *pravaras* from their priests. The authority generally relied upon in such matters is the remark which Vijñâneśvara makes while commenting on a verse from the *vivâha-prakaraṇa* of the *Âchârâdhyâya* of the *Yâjña-valkya-smṛiti* (I. 53). The remark is *yady=api râjañya-viśâm prâtisvika-gotr-âbhâvât pravar-âbhâvas=tath=âpi purohita-gotr apravarau veditavyau,* "although the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas have no *pravaras* as they have no *gotras* of their own, yet (in their case) the *gotras* and *prava-ras* of (their) priests are to be understood." On this ground it may therefore be argued that the possession of Brâhmaṇical *gotras* and *pravaras* by a modern caste does not necessarily prove it to be a Brâhmaṇ caste, that the Bengal Kâyasthas may be a Kshatriya or Vaiśya caste for aught we know to the contrary, and that they may have borrowed their *gotras* and *pravaras* from their priests. We have thus to consider the full significance of the verse from the *Yâjñavalkya-smṛiti* and also of the remark which Vijñâneśvara passes in his gloss on it.

Now, what is the authority of Vijñâneśvara when he asserts that the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas have no Brâhmaṇical *gotras* and *pravaras* of their own except those of their priests ? Fortunately, he gives Âśvalâyana as his authority and cites the following passages : *tathâ cha* "*yajamânasy=ârsheyân pravṛiṇîte*" *ity-uktvâ* "*paurohityân râjanya-viśâṃ pravṛiṇîte.*" These are really quotations from the *Âśvalâyana-śrautasûtra* and occur at the beginning of the third Part (*khaṇḍa*) of the first Chapter (*adhyâya*). The first of these in full is *yajamânasy=ârsheyân pravṛiṇîte yâyantaḥ syuḥ,* " he chooses as many as there are of the ancestral Ṛishis of the sacrificer." The second quotation runs somewhat differently in the published edition (*Anand. Sk. Series*) of the work, namely, *paurohityân râja-viśâm.* It will be seen that we have here *râja-viśâm* instead of *râjanya-viśâm* of Vijñâneśvara. About the conclusion of this work we meet with the *sûtra* : *purohita-pravare râjnâm.* This occurs not only in the edition of the *Anand. Sk. Series* (p. 463), but also in the *Âśvalâyana-pravara-kâṇḍa* published in the *Gotra-pravara-nibandha-kadambam* (p. 299) of the *Bibliotheca Sanskrita* (Mysore Govt. Or. Lib. Series). It therefore appears that *râja-viśâm* is the correct reading, and not *râjanya-viśâm* as cited by Vijñâneśvara. The same reading is adopted by the *Pravara-mañjarî*,[47] which explains the word *râja°* by saying that even Brâhmaṇs, if they are kings, have to adopt the *pravaras* of their priests. We thus see that it was not the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas only, but also the Brâhmaṇ kings who were compelled to borrow the *pravaras* of their priests.

Even supposing that the reading adopted by Vijñâneśvara is correct, what Âśvalâyana says is that the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas should borrow only the *pravaras* of their priests, nothing being said by him about the *gotras*. Vijñâneśvara, however, affirms that they should adopt not only the *pravaras* but also the *gotras* of the priests. He is certainly wrong in quot-ing in support of his assertion the two *sûtras* from Âśvalâyana which speak of the adoption of the *pravaras* only, and not of the *gotras*, of the priest. The only authority in favour of his assertion is the line from the *Yâjñavalkya-smṛiti* on which he is commenting and which

[46] Originally the Vaidyas and the Kâyasthas must have formed one community. Even now there are intermarriages between the two castes, especially in some parts of the Tippera and Dacca districts. And as a matter of fact, such a marriage between Vaidya and Kâyastha has been held valid by the Calcutta High Court (see "Ram Lal Shookool *vs.* Akhoy Charan Mitter," reported in *The Calcutta Weekly Notes*, Vol. VII [1902-03], p. 619 ff.). Much useful information on this point has been collected by Prâchya-vidyâ-mahârṇava Nagendra Nath Vasu in *Viśvakośa* under *Vaidyajâti*, and the subject has been discussed by Mr. J. C. Ghosh in *Kâyastha-samâj* (*Mâsik*), Vol. IX. p. 288 ff., and *Kâyastha-patrikâ*, B.S. 1337, p. 297. It seems that those of the Bengal Kâyasthas who adopted the Vaidya profession came to be called Vaidyas and are being gradually separated from the Kâyasthas though they have not yet been so on the east side of the Brahmaputrâ. A similar case may be found in Râjpûtânâ, where we meet with a caste which calls itself Baid-Kâyasthas. These are the Bhâṭnagrâ Kâyasthas who have become Vaidyas and have now for that reason formed a separate Kâyastha subcaste (*Marwar Census Report*, p. 404).

[47] *Gotra-pravara-nibandha-kadambam*, pp. 127-8.

runs thus: *aroginîṃ bhrâtṛimatîm=asamân-ârsha-gotrajâm.* What Yâjñavalkya lays down is that a man should marry only that girl who does not pertain to his *ârsha*, i.e., *pravara*, and also to his *gotra*. If, however, we study any *Śrautasûtra* or *Dharmasûtra* carefully, we find that they prohibit only *samâna-pravara* marriages. Thus the *Baudhâyana*[48] and *Âśvalâyana*[49] *Śrautasûtras* lay down the dictum *asamâna-pravarair=vivâhaḥ*, namely, that marriage shall be among unlike *pravaras*. The *Gautama-dharmasûtra* also has *asamâna-pravarair=vivâhaḥ* (IV. 2), and the Vâsistha, *asamân-ârsheyâṃ......sadṛiśîm bhâryâṃ vindeta* (VIII. 1). It will be observed that these *Śrautasûtras* and *Dharmasûtras* are unanimous in laying stress on *asamân-ârsheya* or *asamâna-pravara*, but that they make no mention of *gotra* in this connection. On the other hand, Yâjñavalkya ordains that the girl to be married shall be not only of a different *ârsha* or *pravara* but also of a different *gotra*. The question that we have to consider is why the necessity of avoiding the same *gotra* over and above the same *pravara* arose in the time of Yâjñavalkya.

When the *Baudhâyana* and *Âśvalâyana Śrautasûtras* lay down the dictum *asamâna-pravarair=vivâhaḥ*, they make their sense clear by quoting the following verses:—

eka=eva ṛishir=yâvat pravareshv=anuvartate |
tâvat samâna-gotratvam=anyatra Bhṛigv-Aṅgirasâṃ gaṇât ||
pañchânâṃ trishu sâmânyâd=avivâhas=trishu dvayoḥ |
Bhṛigv-Aṅgiro-gaṇeshv=eva śesheshv=eko=pi vârayet ||

"So long as even one Ṛishi persists in the *pravaras*, there is the sameness of *gotra* excepting in the *gaṇas* of the Bhṛigus and the Aṅgirasas."

"There can be no marriage among the Bhṛigu and Aṅgiras *gaṇas*, if from among the five (Ṛishis) three are common and from among the three two are common. As to the rest, if there is even one (Ṛishi) common, (one) should avoid (marriage)."

It will be seen from the above that the *pravaras* were enough to determine the *gotra* of a man. We may go into somewhat greater detail to make this point quite clear. According to the *Śrautasûtras*, the Seven Sages, or Saptarshis, and Agasti were the eight founders of the *gotras* in the extensive sense of the term. These are (1) the Bhṛigus, (2) Gautamas, (3) Bhâradvâjas, (4) Atris, (5) Viśvâmitras, (6) Kaśyapas, (7) Vasishṭhas, and (8) Agastis.[50] Of these, the Gautamas and Bhâradvâjas form the bigger class known as the Aṅgiras *gaṇa*. Each of these eight *gotras* is divided into a number of smaller groups called *pakshas*. Thus the Bhṛigu *gotra* is divided into the following *pakshas*: (1) Vatsas, (2) Vidas, (3) Ârshṭishenas, (4) Yaskas, (5) Mitrayus, (6) Vainyas and (7) Śunakas. Each of these *pakshas* is subdivided into a number of septs called *gotra* in its contracted sense. Thus the Vatsa *paksha* is divided into no less than seventy-two smaller *gotras*, such as Mârkaṇḍeyas, Mâṇḍûkas and so forth. In the case of every one of the *pakshas* are cited Ârshas or Ârsheyas, so called because they were its ancestral Ṛishi or Mantradrashṭâ. Another word for *ârsheya* is *pravara*, as mentioned above. It is these *ârsheyas* or *pravaras* which determine the *gotra* in its comprehensive sense. If any two smaller *gotras* or families have any Ṛishi in common in the *pravaras* of their respective *pakshas*, they are automatically taken as belonging to the same stock, that is, to the same *gotra*, the term *gotra* being employed in its extensive sense. Marriage is accordingly prohibited among these families. When therefore the *Śrauta-* and *Dharmasûtras* referred to above, lay down the dictum *asamâna-pravarair=vivâhaḥ*, it is exactly equivalent to *asamâna-gotrair=vivâhaḥ*, the word *gotra* being here understood as the bigger and not the smaller *gotra*. By avoiding the sameness of *pravaras* when even one Ṛishi is found common, the sameness of *gotras* is automatically avoided. The Sûtrakâras were thus perfectly correct in pivoting on *asamâna-pravara*, which presupposed *asamâna-gotra*. But Yâjñavalkya, we have seen, lays stress not only upon *asamân-ârsha* but also upon

[48] (*Bibl. Ind. Ed.*), pp. 415.
[49] *Gotra-pravara-nibandha-kadambam*, p. 301.
[50] See Appendix A.

asamâna-gotra. Are we therefore to suppose that *asamâna-gotra* is a needless repetition in the Smṛiti text ? This would be charging Yâjñavalkya with the fault of tautology. Surely the author of the *Yâjñavalkya-smṛiti* must have been conversant with the *Śrauta-* and the *Dharma-sûtras* prior to his period. When, therefore, he insists not only upon *asamân-ârsha* but also upon *asamâna-gotra*, we have to assume that the latter expression in his time must have been as essential as the former. We know that different Smṛitis came into existence to meet different environments in different periods and in different provinces. The *Yâjña-valkya-smṛiti* is generally assigned to the fourth century A.D. It thus seems that Hindu society had changed about the beginning of the Christian era, at any rate so far as matrimonial custom went and that to suit these new changes Yâjñavalkya must have laid stress not only upon *asamâna-pravaratva* but also upon *asamâna-gotratva*. If we reflect upon this matter a little, we find that both these conditions fit admirably in the case of society represented by the Râjpût and Vaiśya classes of Northern India. Being Kshatriyas, the Râjpûts have to adopt the *pravaras* of their priests. But it is not enough for them to avoid these *pravaras* as it seems it was in the case of the Kshatriyas of the pre-Christian period. Over and above the *pravaras* of their priests, they have to avoid marriage in the same *khâṃp* or clan. Let us take two of these *khâṃps*, namely Chohân and Guhilot. The Chohân *khâṃp* is divided into a number of branches, such as Chohân, Hâḍâ, Khîchî, Songirâ, Devḍâ and so forth. They cannot marry among themselves. The Guhilot *khâṃp* is similarly divided into a number of septs, such as Guhilot, Sîsodiyâ, Âhâḍâ, Pîpâḍâ, Maṅgaliyâ and so forth. These also cannot marry with one another. But any sept of the Guhilot can contract matrimonial alliance with any sept of the Chohân, because the Guhilot and the Chohân are two different *khâṃps*. It will thus be perceived that amongst the Râjpûts they have to avoid not only the *pravaras* of their priests, but above all, the *khâṃp* to which they belong and which is the most important thing they have to bear in mind at the time of marriage. In the case of the Râjpûts, the dictum *asamâna-pravarair=vivâhaḥ* cannot hold good, but on the contrary they have to abide by the injunction of Yâjñavalkya, namely that they must shun marriage not only in the same *ârsha* or *pravara* which they adopt from their priests, but also in the same *gotra* which in their case is the *khâṃp*.

It will be noted from the above discussion that the avoidance, not only of the same *pravara* but also of the same *gotra*, as insisted upon for the first time by Yâjñavalkya is applicable only to a state of society such as is represented by the marriage customs of the Râjpûts. The sameness of the *gotra* over and above that of the *pravaras* is certainly superfluous in the case of genuine Brâhmaṇs[51] even at the present day. It appears similarly to have been superfluous in the case of the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas anterior to the time of Yâjñavalkya, otherwise the stress laid upon *gotra* as well as *ârsha* by the latter would have been laid also by the Śrauta- and Dharma- Sûtrakâras adverted to above. But social life seems to have been considerably altered about the commencement of the Christian era, which necessitated the avoidance of not only the same *pravaras* but also the same *gotra* for the validity of marriage. This line of reasoning alone can explain why Yâjñavalkya has insisted upon both. It must not however be supposed that this new state of things was confined to the Râjpûts, who are regarded as the modern Kshatriyas. The same thing is noticeable among the classes who go to form the Vaiśyas. If we take the Osvâls, e.g., we find that they too have a number of *khâṃps* or *gotras* and that they invariably shun marriage in the *khâṃp* to which they pertain, whether or not they adopt the *pravaras* of their Brâhmaṇ priests. Such is the case with the Porvâḍs, Agarvâls and so on, who are the prominent castes of the Vaiśya community.

(*To be continued.*)

51 See p. 54 and Appendix A.

REMARKS ON THE NICOBAR ISLANDERS AND THEIR COUNTRY.

By the late Sir RICHARD C. TEMPLE, Bt., C.B., C.I.E., F.B.A., F.S.A.,
Chief Commissioner, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, from 1894 to 1903.

(Continued from page 38.)

Despite the nominal occupation of the country by Europeans for so long, the inhabitants, even of Nancowry Harbour, have been systematic pirates, and there is a very long list of authentic cases in which traders and others of all nationalities have been murdered, wrecked and plundered by them even to quite recent times. The immediate object of the British occupation was to put a final stop to this. The nineteen years of the British Penal Settlement succeeded effectually, and there is now no fear of a recrudescence.

Complaints of piracy and murder of crews made in the records left behind by missionaries and seamen occur up to 1848, and in 1852 there commenced formal official complaints and correspondence on the subject, which continued at intervals, until in 1867 the question already mooted of annexation of the islands to stop piracy, some cases of which had been especially atrocious, was formally taken up, and in 1869 they were annexed to the British Crown and attached to the Andamans for administration and the establishment of a Penal Settlement.

The Penal Settlement in Nancowry Harbour consisted on the average of about 350 persons : 2 European and 2 other Officers ; garrison, 58 ; police, 22 ; other free residents, 35 ; convicts, 235. They were employed on public works similar to those of the Andamans. The health was never good, but sickness was kept within limits by constant transfer to the Andamans. Individual health, however, steadily increased with length of time and there is no doubt that in time sanitary skill and effort would have made the sick rate approach without special efforts that of the Andamans. The first year of residence was always the most sickly, partial acclimatisation being quickly acquired. Some officers stayed two to three years. Mr. E. H. Man was in actual residence on and off six and a half years. Some of the free people remained on several years : convicts usually three, and sometimes voluntarily from five to fifteen without change.

As a matter of fact, as the following table will show, with the precautions taken, the sick rate at the Nicobar Penal Settlement did not on the whole compare unfavourably with that at the Andamans.

Statement showing the sick rate of the Settlements at Port Blair and Nicobars from 1869 to 1888, inclusive, i.e.. *for the* 19 *years that the Nicobar Settlement lasted.*

	Port Blair. Rate per cent.	Nicobars. Rate per cent.
1869	5·45	12·31
1870	5·34	..
1871	6·36	10·87
1872	5·91	8·98
1873	5·53	8·66
1874	7·60	14·89
1875	9·62	16·68
1876	10·35	8·66
1877	7·71	9·76
1878	Not recorded.	Not recorded.
1879	8·92	6·66
1880	10·00	6·83
1881	11·09	6·98
1882	9·77	7·01
1883	7·42	7·08

	PORT BLAIR. Rate per cent.	NICOBARS. Rate per cent.
1884	6·72	6·48
1885	6·00	7·95
1886	4·99	7·23
1887	5·81	8·34
1888	5·00	8·55

Like all the other Governments who had had an interest in the islands, the British tried a colony, Chinese, in 1884, which failed. But the attempt drew from the most experienced officer there, Mr. Man, the following advice of value, considering the perennial interest in these islands betrayed by European speculators and would be colonisers :—

"To colonise the Nicobars employ Chinese; send them to Great Nicobar: employ agriculturists who are not opium users: maintain quick and frequent communication with the Straits Settlements: assist the colonists in transporting their families: provide them with ready means of procuring food, clothing, medicines, tools and implements."

A large capital and much perseverance would always be necessary for exploiting the Nicobars with any hope of success.

The story of the Settlement was well told by Mr. E. H. Man in a final Report on its being broken up in 1888, as the extracts therefrom which follow will show.

Mr. E. H. Man's Report on the Penal Settlement in Nancowry Harbour.

The Government of India having determined to discontinue the maintenance of the penal settlement at the Nicobar Islands, orders were received, in July 1888, to take early measures for the transfer of the entire establishment and live stock, and the dismantling of all public buildings at Nancowry, with the view to their shipment to Port Blair.

These orders were duly carried into effect by means of the ordinary monthly trips of the contract mail steamer, and the last consignment was shipped on the 21st December, when, as a temporary measure, a Chinese interpreter in Government employ was left behind with authority to register ships' arrivals and departures, grant permits to trade and port clearances, and to hoist the British flag daily at the old station flagstaff. A few free cocoanut-traders, who had been resident for some years at the station, were at the same time permitted to remain there, and arrangements made for affording them all necessary assistance on the occasions of our periodical visits in the Government steamer from Port Blair.

The important step thus taken in seemingly abandoning our position at the Nicobars in no way, however, implied a desire or intention on the part of the Government to forfeit or impair its sovereignty by relinquishing any of the rights or responsibilities which it had incurred by its annexation of the islands twenty years ago. The primary objects which had led to the establishment of the Government colony in the centre of the group immediately after the annexation were held to have been at length fully attained, and, as it was at the same time clearly shown that, owing to the exceptional circumstances and conditions of the colony in incurring continued expenditure, no adequate return, even prospective, was possible, there remained neither inducement nor justification for maintaining an establishment any longer in such a remote and malarious locality.

Under the above circumstances this is considered a good opportunity to place on record a brief history of the settlement, whose period of existence corresponded somewhat singularly with that of the Moravian Mission in the same harbour a century ago; both were maintained for nineteen years, the latter from 1768 to 1787 and the former from 1869 to 1888.

For upwards of a century before the islands were added to the possessions of British India they had been regarded as belonging to the Danish Crown, which had exercised some

sort of sovereignty over them. The endeavours made by the Danes to colonise the group were, however, mainly of a missionary character. The chief attempts made were by 25 Moravian brethren during the period above mentioned and by Pastor Rosen between 1831-37. The ill-success which attended these efforts was attributable to many causes, the chief being their lack of sufficient means and often of the barest necessaries of life and their ignorance, not only of the prophylactics discovered since their day, but also of the most elementary rules of hygiene, as evidenced in the case of the Moravians by the wretched site selected by them for occupation, especially in a locality so notorious for malaria, and by their mode of living as described by the only one of their number who survived to tell the tale of their sufferings and fruitless self-sacrifice.

It is scarcely surprising if the Nicobarese saw nothing in these ill-conducted missions to their islands to lead them to form a high estimate of the intelligence, power and resources of Western races; and this may, to some extent, explain the temerity many of these timid islanders are shown to have displayed in certain encounters with Europeans not long after the departure of Pastor Rosen's mission in 1837, which, in spite of the subsequent brief visit of the Danish corvette *Galathea* (1845-46), may be regarded as the date of the virtual abandonment by the Danes of their weak hold on the islands.

During the subsequent period of some thirty years (1837 to 1869) that the Nicobars were left as it were derelict, the natives of the Central, and less frequently of the Southern, Group committed numerous murderous outrages on the crews of vessels visiting their islands, ostensibly for trading purposes, the majority under the British flag. With our present knowledge of the Nicobarese and of some of those who have been in the habit of trading with them, there can be no doubt that the former must frequently have received considerable provocation from the latter. During the period referred to some 26 vessels are believed to have been scuttled by the natives.

In consequence of the impunity with which these crimes were committed they at length (in 1866) culminated in a bold attack on a brig (the *Futteh Islam*) at Great Nicobar, when 21 of the crew are believed to have been massacred, the survivors (3 in number) escaping with the vessel to Penang.

The action then taken by the Indian Government resulted, with the consent of the Danish Crown, in the islands being formally annexed to British India, and, for purposes of administration, they were at once placed in charge of the Superintendent of the Andaman Islands. While thus providing the most effectual means for suppressing the piratical tendencies of the inhabitants and affording protection to trading vessels visiting the islands, it was also felt to be advantageous in serving to avoid the risk of such inconvenience as would be caused by the possible establishment of a rival foreign naval station in such proximity to our settlements in the Indian seas.

The British annexation dates from 16th April 1869, since which a settlement has been established at Camorta and maintained on the northern side of Nancowry Harbour, opposite the site of the old Moravian Mission. The selection of this site was chiefly determined by the fact that the majority of the outrages above referred to had occurred within a small radius of the harbour, which, moreover, was well known to afford a commanding position and an excellent and commodious haven at all seasons of the year. The only drawback was the *malaria*, and this, it was hoped, might in time be removed by dealing with its causes after the same methods as had been successfully employed under like circumstances at Port Blair.

Although the site selected for occupation was on the northern side of the harbour, and therefore on Camorta Island, the new settlement was, by Home Department Resolution No. 2016, dated 25th April 1871, directed to be called after the better known island (Nancowry) facing it, which had, moreover, given its name to the harbour formed by the two islands.

A glance at the map of the three islands of Camorta, Nancowry, and Trinkat shows that the settlement was planted in the south-east corner of the first-named island, and that it embraced an area of about 500 acres.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

SIR AUREL STEIN'S RECENT EXPERIENCES IN CHINESE TURKESTAN.

When concluding his introduction to the detailed record of his third expedition of exploration in Central Asia, Kansu and Eastern Îrân (1913-16), Sir Aurel Stein added that his thoughts had ever since turned longingly to those far-off deserts and mountains which had seen the most cherished portion of his life's work. The preparation, however, of his monumental works, *Serindia* and *Innermost Asia*, and other activities, including exploration in Wazîristân, and N. Balûchistân, Upper Swât and Buner, and in Makrân, Jhâlawân and Khârân, so pregnant of important results, not to speak of adverse political conditions, prevented the completion of the further investigations he had set before himself. When, with the support of Harvard University and the British Museum, and the sanction of the Chinese Government, he once more crossed the Pâmîr passes in August 1930, his delight at the prospect of resuming his inquiries will be realized by all who know his character. A sense of personal regret and sympathy with him in the poignant disappointment he had sustained was felt by all Oriental scholars when the telegraphic news arrived that he had been compelled by the attitude of the Chinese Government to return to India. Readers of this Journal will be interested to know the circumstances leading up to this decision and the nature of the work he succeeded in accomplishing pending the abortive negociations that were carried on. Information now received from Sir Aurel himself enables us to state the facts briefly.

With a view to expediting the grant of the necessary authority for the work in Hsin-chiang and Inner Mongolia, Sir Aurel visited Nanking, and in May 1930, at the recommendation of the British Minister, the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs sanctioned the issue to him of a passport authorizing him to trace and closely to investigate ancient remains in those areas, the object and scope of the work being set forth in a memorandum submitted through our Minister and explained in some detail at an interview. The passport was understood to authorize also such survey work as might be found necessary for the task. Sir Aurel had distinctly expressed a desire to have associated with him a Chinese scholar and a topographer if competent men could be found. He then returned to his base in Kashmîr to complete his own arrangements. The Government of India gave him the usual cordial support, deputing tried assistants, including his old and trusted companion K͟hân Ṣâhib Afrâzgul K͟hân. Though fully realizing that his ultimate success would depend upon the attitude of the local administration, he wrote at the end of June 1930, full of hopeful anticipation, that the start was planned for early in August. Before, however, he was quite half way to the Chinese frontier he received information that entry into Hsin-chiang had been forbidden by the Chinese Government. To meet the ostensible ground for an agitation carried on by a section of the Chinese Press, he had meanwhile offered to give a formal undertaking not to remove any ancient objects from Chinese territory without the previous consent of the Government. On arrival in October at Kâshgar, where arrangements were to be made for his work, he was held up. Repeated telegraphic applications to the provincial headquarters elicited an invitation to proceed personally to Urumchi to discuss arrangements. This meant a caravan journey of at least six weeks, and the loss practically of a whole working season. Further negociation ensued, and ultimately sanction was obtained to follow a route round the southern edge of the Taklamakân, which would enable certain ancient sites to be visited on the way to Urumchi: but it was not till the end of November that he was able to start for Khotan. A definite official assurance had been received that he would be allowed to "work" on the way, but a subordinate Chinese official was to accompany and assist him. By the time he reached the small oasis of Domoko (previously visited by him in 1901, 1906, 1908 and 1913), which lies about 70 miles east of Khotan, on the way to Keriya, overt obstruction commenced, and the magistrate of Keriya intimated that he had received instructions to prohibit digging or making of plans at ruined sites. At Keriya Sir Aurel was laid up for a fortnight by an attack of bronchitis, and it was not till February that he

reached Charchan, some 250 miles farther east, only to receive the mortifying news that the Nanking Government had cancelled his passport and insisted on his return to India, the official communication reproducing what he describes as a series of unjustified allegations. Forced to return to Kâshgar, he determined to take the longer route, skirting the Lop desert, and so round by the northern caravan route along the southern skirts of the T'ienshan. In this way he was able to collect useful data bearing upon the hydrographic changes that have resulted in most of the water of the Târîm river joining the Konche-daryâ, and so flowing into the Lop desert in the vicinity of the ancient Lou-lan site. Moreover, he was able to carry a chain of exact longitudes, determined by astronomical observations and time signals, all round the Târîm basin, a work of great geographical value, which will enable corrections to be made in many of the atlas sheets previously prepared by him and printed by the Survey of India. By the close of April, by dint of dogged perseverance in the face of the obstacles placed in his way, he had succeeded in completing a tour of some 2,000 miles round the Taklamakân, and in supplementing his earlier researches by useful surveys and finds on the southern edge of the desert beyond Niya.

Undaunted by what must have been a grievous disappointment, Sir Aurel writes cheerfully on his return to Kashmir, and he is already planning further tours of exploration and research in other directions. He also tells of an important find, two miles west of Gilgit cantonments, of ancient Sanskrit texts written mostly on birch-bark, a separate note on which is printed. He further records the discovery of some interesting antiques in Yâsîn, within what appears to have been one of a number of Buddhist burial cairns, and of which we hope to publish an account later.

C. E. A. W. O.

IMPORTANT FIND OF EARLY BIRCH-BARK MSS. NEAR GILGIT.

An important archæological discovery in the Hindûkush region is reported by Sir Aurel Stein, who has been able, on returning from his travels in Chinese Turkestân, to inspect the site and the relics so far recovered. In the last days of May boys watching flocks above Naupûr village, some two miles west of Gilgit cantonment, accidentally cleared a piece of timber sticking out from the top of a small stone covered mound. Further digging done by villagers laid bare a circular chamber within what was a Buddhist *stûpa* or memorial tower filled with hundreds of small votive *stûpas* and relievo plaques common at Buddhist ruins of Central Asia. In the course of this "irresponsible excavation" a mass of ancient MSS. was laid bare, closely packed in what appears to have been a wooden box. At this stage the digging was fortunately stopped by the local authorities and the MSS., as yet undisturbed, removed to the office of the Wazîr of Gilgit.

Rapid examination by Sir Aurel Stein has shown the bulk of the manuscripts to consist of Sanskrit texts written on oblong leaves of birch-bark of the Indian *pôthî* type. Most of these bundles of duly paginated folia are likely to contain Buddhist canonical texts and the like. In many of them the writing is of a type of Brâhmî script familiar from manuscript remains excavated at ruined Buddhist sites of Chinese Turkestân. Others show an early form of the Brâhmî writing known in Kashmîr as Śâradâ and once prevailing all through the hill tracts in the extreme northwest of India. Palæographic indications in the case of the former manuscripts suggest that some may date back to the sixth century A.D., if not earlier. Careful examination by competent specialists may help to settle the approximate dating of later manuscripts, and thus the time when the deposit was made.

Of special interest is a *pôthî* written in Central Asian Brâhmî on paper. The use of this material distinctly indicates that the manuscript was written in Eastern Turkestân. The manufacture of paper, first invented in China at the very beginning of the second century A.D., was introduced there by the fourth century, if not before.

The structural character of the *stûpa* and the filling up of a domed chamber within with masses of clay model *stûpas*, etc., exactly corresponds to what is shown by Buddhist ruins of the same type dating from early mediæval times in Turkestân and westernmost China. The practice of placing large deposits of sacred manuscripts and other votive offerings in the interior of *stûpas* is curiously illustrated by one of the fine Buddhist paintings on silk recovered by Sir Aurel Stein on his second Central Asian expedition from the cave shrines of the Thousand Buddhas of Tun-huang.

The large number of ancient manuscripts discovered and their remarkably good preservation, due largely to the dryness of the climate and perhaps also to lingering respect among the Hindûkush hill people for relics of their pre-Islamic past, make this find at Gilgit one of exceptional interest. The complete clearing of the *stûpa*, and of three smaller ones immediately adjoining and as yet unopened, awaits arrangements by the Kashmîr Darbâr. It must be hoped that its Research and Archæological Department will be able to have the task carried out with systematic care and that the reproduction and editing of the valuable materials recovered will be entrusted to fully competent scholars. The publication of similar but far less abundant manuscript materials from Chinese Turkestân, and in a single case from the Peshawar district, which the late Dr. Hoernle edited under the orders of the Government of India, provides an admirable model.

INDIAN STUDIES.

No. 3.

THE NÂGAR BRÂHMAṆS AND THE BENGAL KÂYASTHAS.

By Prof. D. R. BHANDARKAR, Ph.D., F.A.S.B.

(Continued from page 55.)

There is another point, though a small one, which is worth noticing in connection with the verse quoted above from the *Yâjñavalkya-smṛiti*. Yâjñavalkya in this line conjoins *gotra* with *ârsha*. *Ârsha*, of course, is synonymous with *pravara*. But it is called *ârsha* because the word denotes the ancestral Ṛishis who are *mantra-drashṭâraḥ*. The founders of the *gotras*, using the word *gotra* in its narrow sense, need not necessarily be the Seers of the Hymns. This is applicable even to most of the Brâhmaṇ *gotras*, and particularly so to the *gotras* or *khâṃps* of the Râjpûts and the Vaiśyas of North India. The contrast between an *ârsha* and a *gotra* is thus worthy of note. An *ârsha* must always be *ârsha*, but a *gotra* need not be. Hence where *gotra* has been mentioned side by side with *ârsha* by Yâjñavalkya, the natural inference is that he had in view the *anârsha gotras* of the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas of his period, which are now technically known as *khâṃps* and where they were particularly careful in abstaining from marrying.

Coming now back to the Kâyasthas of Bengal, we observe that they have no *gotras* which correspond to the *khâṃps* of the Râjpûts or the Vaiśya castes of North India. It is true that they have some family names such as Ghosha, Basu, Mitra and so forth, but they are not exogamous groups, because one Ghosha can marry another if their *gotras* are different. And as their *gotras* are Brâhmanical, it is impossible to escape the inference that they were originally looked upon as Brâhmaṇs. And further, as we have strong grounds to hold that there were Nâgar Brâhmaṇs in Ancient Bengal and that the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs even now, as in the Valabhi period, possess Śarmans or Âmushyâyaṇas identical with the Kâyastha *padavîs*, it is difficult to avoid the inference that the Kâyasthas of Bengal were originally Nâgar Brâhmaṇs.

There is a passage in Raghunandana's *Udvâha-tattva* which is very interesting in this connection. He quotes a verse from Manu (V. 140), which says that "Śûdras who live according to the law shall shave each month (or shall offer the monthly *śrâddha*), and their mode of purification (shall be) the same as that of the Vaiśyas......" As no *śrâddha* can be performed without the utterance of the *gotra*, this he contends shows that by analogy the Śûdra partakes of the characteristic right of the Vaiśya to adopt the *gotra* of his ancestor's priest. What then becomes of the *Vishṇu-smṛiti* (XXIV. 9) injunction: *na samâna-gotrâṃ na samâna-pravarâṃ bhâryâṃ vindeta*, 'he shall secure a wife who is of neither the same *gotra* nor of the same *pravara*'? Why is this prohibition not made applicable to the Śûdra also? Raghunandana replies that the prohibition indicated in this text applies only to the *gotras* specified (*upadishṭa*) of the Brâhmaṇs or extended (*atidishṭa*) by analogy to the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas, and not to the *gotras* of the Śûdras, which are superimposed upon them by an *atideśa* upon an *atideśa*. In the first place, the argument involving an *atideśa* upon an *atideśa* is always most repugnant to a Hindu jurist. It has thus been condemned, e.g., by the author of the *Dattaka-mîmâṃsâ* and by no less an illustrious modern High Court Judge than the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.[52] Secondly, no *gotras* or *pravaras* have been specified for the Śûdras by the Śrauta- or Dharma-sûtras. And if they possess any, this singular fact is to be explained historically or ethnologically, and not by *atideśa* upon *atideśa*. Whatever the explanation given by Raghunandana may be, the passage from his book adverted to above is of great importance, because it shows that there were in his time in Bengal some Śûdras who possessed Brâhmanical *gotras* which they uttered at the time of the monthly *śrâddhas*, but which they did not consider for the purpose of matrimonial alliances. This certainly holds good in the case of the Navaśâkhas and Sadgopas, as we have seen above, but cannot possibly be made applicable to the Kâyasthas, who shun marriages in the same Brâhmanical *gotra* but not in the families bearing the same *padavî*. It thus seems that in

[52] *Calcutta Weekly Notes*, Vol. XX. p. 500.

the time of Raghunandana the Kâyasthas could not have been looked upon as Śûdras. To say that in his time the Kâyasthas married in the same Brâhmanical *gotra* but with different *padavîs*, as the Navaśâkhas and the Sadgopas do at present, and that their marriage in the same *padavî* though with different *gotras* is the result of their imitation of Brâhmanical customs and practices, is a gratuitous supposition unwarranted by any scrap of evidence.[53]

The evidence set forth above thus points to the conclusion that the Bengal Kâyasthas of the present day were originally the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs that seem to have been settled in this province in the sixth century A.D. There is no evidence to show that they were ever in touch with their caste fellows in the western part of India. We cannot therefore expect any extreme similarity in the social structure of the Kâyastha caste of Bengal and the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs of Gujarât and Kâṭhiâwâṛ. Still, sufficient similarity has been preserved between the two communities, which indicates that they pertained originally to the same stock. According to their tradition the Nâgars had, to begin with, seventy-two families, of whom sixty-eight accepted gifts from the Queen of Chamatkâra, and four went away to avert the necessity of begging. Of the sixty-eight, four ran away in fear of the Nâgas, so that only sixty-four remained at Chamatkârapura (Vaḍnagar). Thereafter Śakra had occasion to perform a sacrifice and imported eight families from the Himâlayas, who were styled *Ashṭakulîna Nâgar*, some of whom were Madhyagas. The others were styled Sâmânya in contradistinction to them. Thus the Nâgars are distinguished into two classes—(1) eight Kulînas and (2) sixty-four Sâmânyas, making up the total of seventy-two *gotras*. Now, in regard to the Bengal Kâyasthas there are two traditions about the original number of the Kâyastha families designated Achalâ, corresponding to the Sâmânyas among the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs. It is true that according to one tradition there were seventy-two such families, but there is another tradition which says that there were sixty-four Achalâ families[54] and that some more Kâyastha families were brought from outside, namely, four Kulînas, four Madhyalas and nineteen Mahâpâtras. If we exclude the Mahâpâtras who probably represent the latest accretion to the Kâyastha community, there is a pretty good similarity in the caste configuration of the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs and the Bengal Kâyasthas, namely, sixty-four families which were Achalâ or Sâmânya and eight which were not so. The only slight difference here is that the latter class is called *Ashṭakulîn* by the Nâgars, of whom some were Madhyagas, but is divided by the Kâyasthas into two sections, namely four Kulînas and four Madhyalas. Even the terms Kulîn and Madhyala are worthy of note as they correspond to the Kulîna and Madhyaga of the Nâgars. It will be seen that the configuration of the Nâgar caste has been better preserved among the Vaṅgaja Kâyasthas than perhaps in any other Kâyastha section of Bengal. Another similarity between the two communities is also worthy of note. It has been repeatedly pointed out that the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs have thirteen Âmushyâyaṇas which are now the *padavîs* of the present Kâyasthas of Bengal. I have elsewhere pointed out that though these Âmushyâyaṇas have practically remained unused, the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs are particularly careful in pronouncing them when they perform their religious ceremonies. Such is the case with the Bengal Kâyasthas. They too never fail to utter their *padavîs* along with their Brâhmanical *gotras* at the time of all religious ceremonies. But perhaps the most curious similarity preserved is the fact that in the case of both these communities marriage is allowed in some cases so long as the *gotra* names are different, though the *pravaras* are exactly or almost exactly the same.[55] This is a most noteworthy thing, not known to any other castes in India, the people of which not only bear Brâhmanical *gotras* but also must marry in different *gotras*. It cannot thus be denied even by a casual observer that the Kâyasthas of Bengal even now bear a fairly close similarity to the Nâgars in point of caste structure.

[53] For an explanation of the present fallen status of the Kâyasthas of Bengal, see Appendix B.

[54] This occurs in a palm-leaf MS. of *Vaṅgaja-Kâyastha-kârikâ* of Lakshmikanta Sarma Ghatak of Edilpur, quoted by Mr. J. C. Ghosh in *Kâyastha-samâj* (*Mâsik*), B. S. 1336, p. 416, n.

[55] *Nâgara-pushpâñjali*, Pt. III. p. 78.

It is not merely social, but also physical anthropology that comes to our support in this connection, and it is interesting here to note the views of Dr. B. S. Guha based upon anthropometric data furnished principally by H. H. Risley.[56] The characteristic Bengali type consists of the association of round head with slender nose and may be described as brachyleptorhiny, to use an anthropometric term. This type is found in the central or deltaic region and especially among the upper classes, such as the Brâhmaṇs and Kâyasthas, and gradually thins away as we descend to the lower strata. This Bengali type differs from that of the eastern neighbours—on the one hand, from the Mongoloids of the Brahmaputra valley, who strongly incline towards the dolichoplatyrhine, and on the other from the Sino-Burmese peoples among whom the brachyplatyrhine element is predominant. They also vary from their western neighbours, the pre-Aryan Santâls and other tribes and also from the north-western peoples, such as those found in the United Provinces, Panjâb and Kashmîr. In fact, the brachyleptorhine element which is so typical of Bengal gradually decreases as we proceed from Bihâr to Benares, to the north-west of which place the dolicholeptorhine characteristics of North India are in increasing evidence. The Bengali type represented by the Bengal Kâyasthas and Brâhmaṇs thus stands isolated in a surrounding medley of races. The only peoples with whom they can be linked up anthropometrically are the round-headed castes of Western India, the most pre-eminent of whom are the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs of Gujarât and Kâṭhiâwâṛ and the Prabhu Kâyasthas of Mahârâshṭra. The following table, prepared by my pupil, Mr. Atul Krishna Sur, will show at a glance how the case stands. It is scarcely necessary to add that the average cephalic index beyond or below 75 is an indication of brachycephaly and dolichocephaly respectively.

The following Table illustrates the racial affinity of the Bengali Kâyasthas and Brâhmaṇs with the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs and the Vâṇiâs of Gujarât, and their difference from the Brâhmaṇs and the Kâyasthas of the United Provinces and Bihâr. Compiled from the anthropometrical appendices in Risley's *People of India* :—

Number of Persons measured.	Name of Caste.	Locality.	Av. C. I.	Av. N. I.	Av. St.
100	..Nâgar Brâhmaṇs.	Ahmadâbâd ..	79·7	73·1	1643
127	..Vâṇiâs	.. ,, ..	79·3	75·7	1612
100	..Prabhu	..Sâtârâ, Poona, Bombay, Ṭhâṇâ.	79·9	75·8	1627
100	..Kâyasthas	..Bengal ..	78·2	70·3	1636
32	..Brâhmaṇs	..W. Bengal ..	78·2	71·9	1670
68	..Brâhmaṇs	..E. Bengal ..	79·0	70·3	1659
100	..Brâhmaṇs	..U. P. ..	73·1	74·6	1659
100	..Kâyasthas	.. ,, ..	72·6	74·8	1648
67	..Brâhmaṇs	..Bihâr ..	74·9	73·2	1661

The various surnames of the grantees we have culled from the various inscriptions are as follows: (1) Bhûti, (2) Chandra, (3) Dâma, (4) Dâsa, (5) Datta, (6) Deva, (7) Dhara. (8) Ghosha, (9) Gupta, (10) Kara, (11) Kîrtti, (12) Kuṇḍa, (13) Mitra, (14) Nâga, (15) Nandin, (16) Pâla, (17) Pâlita, (18) Rakshita, (19) Śarman, (20) Sena, (21) Soma, (22) Vardhana, (23) Varman and (24) Vasu. These are all found as *padavîs* among the Bengal Kâyasthas to the present day. But what is strange is that they were found as surnames among the Brâhmaṇs of Bengal from the sixth to the twelfth century A.D. Another noteworthy fact is that most of them are found as the names of the ruling or Kshatriya families of Northern India in the pre-Muhammadan period. That the Pâlas and Senas were the Kshatriya families ruling over Bihâr and Bengal is well-known. That the Chandras, Ghoshas and Varmans also held

56 See his Presidential Address for the Section of Anthropology published in the Proceedings of the Fifteenth Indian Science Congress (issued 27th February 1929), p. 308 ff.

parts of Bengal is not unknown. The Varmans in particular deserve further consideration in this connection, because it may be argued that *varman* is but an honorific suffix of Kshatriyas, and that the fact that the names of the members of a ruling family end in *varman* is not enough to show that they were named Varmans. This argument is refuted by verse 5 of the Belâvâ (Bengal) copper-plate of Bhojavarman, which is of the twelfth century A.D. and which distinctly tells us that he belonged to the Varman family who were the kinsmen of Kṛishṇa (Yadu) and came originally from Siṃhapura.[57] This reminds us of the inscription on the Lakkhâ Maṇḍal Temple,[58] which is of the seventh century and sets forth the genealogy of twelve princes whose names also terminate in *varman* and who, we are expressly told, were Yadus and belonged to the royal race of Siṅghapura. There can hardly be a doubt that this was the original Varman family of Siṃhapura referred to in the Belâvâ Plate. Bühler, who edited the epigraph, has identified this Siṅghapura with *Seng-ha-pu-lo* mentioned by Yuan Chwang[59] as a dependency of Kashmîr, and Cunningham[60] has rightly identified the place with Ketâs, situated on the north side of the Salt Range and about 85 miles from Taxila. As the epigraph is taken to have been incised about 700 A.D. and as it mentions eleven princes ruling Siṃhapura in a direct line of succession, it seems that the first of them, namely Senavarman, has to be placed in the beginning of the fifth century A.D. These Yâdava Varmans of Siṃhapura appear to have migrated about the twelfth century to the easternmost parts of India and settled not only in East Bengal, as we know from the Belâvâ Plate, but also in Kaliṅga, as appears from the Komarti and Bṛihatproshṭhâ grants.[61] Of practically the same period as the Varmans of Siṃhapura is the royal family which ruled from Thanesar and Kanauj and to which the celebrated Harshavardhana belonged. Harshavardhana was the last prince of this family, and as the names of them all, who are no less than six, terminate in *vardhana*, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the family must have been known as Vardhana which is one of the twenty-four surnames referred to above. Proceeding backwards to an earlier period, we light upon the Guptas and the Nâgas who held sway in Northern India in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. They are too well-known to require any elucidation. But what we have to note about them here is that Gupta and Nâga also are to be found among these surnames. Two more of these surnames are traceable, not however in inscriptions, but on coins. They are Mitra and Datta. Thus coins have been found in Pañchâla and Kosala ranging in age from 100 B.C. to 100 A.D. and issued by no less than seven kings whose names end in *mitra*, such as Bhânumitra, Bhûmimitra, and so on.[62] Similarly, coins of practically the same period have been picked up from Ayodhyâ of at least four princes whose names also end in *mitra*.[63] Again, there were four kings of ancient Mathurâ of about the second century B.C. known to us from their coins only. They are Purushadatta, Bhavadatta, Uttamadatta and Râmadatta.[64] As their names terminate in *datta*, the inference is permissible that they pertained to the Datta family.

It will be seen that no less than twenty-four of the present Bengal Kâyastha surnames were prevalent among the Brâhmaṇs of Bengal in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Of these, at least ten surnames are traceable as the names of the ruling or Kshatriya families going back to the second century B.C. When such surnames are shared both by Brâhmaṇs and Kshatriyas, the presumption arises that they belonged to one race. What could this race

[57] *Inscr. of Bengal*, Vol. III. p. 19.

[58] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I. p. 12 ff. For the same reason Bhâskaravarman of Kâmarûpa, a contemporary of Harshavardhana, seems to have belonged to the Varman family. And, further, it is worthy of note that Yuan Chwang informs us that this king was a Brâhmaṇ by caste (Watters' ed., Vol. II. p. 186). This shows that up till the seventh century Varman was a Brâhmaṇ surname also.

[59] Thomas Watters' ed., Vol. I. pp. 248-9.

[60] Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, ed. by S. N. Majumdar, p. 142.

[61] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV. p. 143 ; Vol. XII. p. 4.

[62] V. A. Smith's *Cat. Coins Ind. Museum*, p. 186 ff.

[63] *Ibid.*, pp. 150-1.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 192 f.

be ? The clue is afforded by the fact that no less than ten of these were in use nearly 700 years ago as Śarmans or Âmushyâyaṇas amongst the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs of Gujarât and Kâṭhiâwâṛ. Mr. N. B. Divatia[65] has rightly remarked that whereas these Śarmans have been reduced to the position of family names in Bengal, they were replaced among the Nâgars by *avaṭaṅkas*, or surnames, and are now remembered " only as ornamental mementos of a social state long gone by, just like the *gotra*." It seems that originally they were clan names; because even now among the Nâgars these Śarmans are known as Âmushyâyaṇa.[66] This inference may appear strange to some, and it may be urged against it that two of these names are Śarman and Varman which are the well-known honorific suffixes of the Brâhmaṇs and Kshatriyas respectively, and it may be pertinently asked whether there is any evidence to show they were ever in ancient times used as the names of any families or clans. In reply, we may draw attention to *Mahâbhârata, Sabhâparvan*, chap. 30, v. 13, and *Śântiparvan*, chap. 49, v. 83, where Śarmakas, Varmakas[67] and Rakshitas are mentioned as different Kshatriya tribes or clans. Nothing therefore precludes us from supposing that the surnames mentioned above, at any rate most of them, originally represented the clans of some race called Nagar or Nâgar. It may reasonably be asked why we should suppose that there was such a race as Nagar or Nâgar. In the first place, we have to note that the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs are not the only Nâgars known to Gujarât. There are Nâgar Vâṇiâs, or traders, also. This itself tends to show that Nâgar was the name of a tribe or race. It is possible to urge against this conclusion that the term Nâgar is derived from Nagara which was the name of Vaḍnagar according to the inscription[68] of the Chaulukya ruler Kumârapala found there, and that both the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs and the Nâgar Vâṇiâs claim Vaḍnagar as their original seat. As they thus hail from Vaḍnagar or Nagara, it is intelligible that both the Brâhmaṇs and the Vâṇiâs should be named Nâgar after it. It may thus be contended that after all there is nothing to show definitely that Nagar or Nâgar was a racial or tribal name. Now, the same inscription that gives Nagara as the old name of Vaḍnagar tells us that its older name was Ânandapura. And I have shown elsewhere[69] that Ânandapura was known as early as the sixth century, as it is mentioned in the Valabhi grants, and that it is specified there as the place from where the grantees hailed who on other grounds also have been proved to be no other than the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs. The earlier name of Vaḍnagar was thus undoubtedly Ânandapura and its later name was Nagara. It is therefore not at all unreasonable to hold that in the course of time as the Nâgars dominated Gujarât, the place of their settlement which was originally Ânandapura came to be called Nagara after them. The conclusion thus stands unrefuted that Nagar or Nâgar is the name of some race or tribe. Secondly, it is not quite correct to say that all the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs of Gujarât and Kâṭhiâwâṛ claim Vaḍnagar to be their original seat. There is a division of the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs called Prashnorâs who style themselves Ahichchhatrâs or Ahichchhatrajñâtîyas, showing that they at least were not connected with Vaḍnagar.[70] Thirdly, as the late Sir James Campbell has pointed out, there are Nâgars not only among the Gujarât Vâṇiâs, but also among the Gurjaras of Bulandshahr in the U. P. and among the Jâṭs of Sialkot in the Panjâb.[71] It may further be noted that there were also Nagair Râjpûts originally in Kâṭhiâwâṛ, after whom a tract of land called Nagher in Soraṭh was named. This agrees with the fact that Nagaraka has been mentioned in a Valabhi grant of G. 206 as being apparently situated in Surâshṭra.[72] Nay, the *Jangnâmâ* of Farrukhsiyar and Jahândar Shâh, by a Hindu

[65] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL. p. 35.

[66] See footnote 1 above.

[67] Up till the seventh century A.D. Varman seems to have been the name of the Brâhmaṇ family to which Bhâskaravarman of Kâmarûpa pertained (see n. 58 above).

[68] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I. p. 299, v. 19.

[69] *JPASB.*, Vol. V. p. 181 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL. p. 32.

[70] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[71] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

[72] *Bom. Gazetteer*, Vol. VIII (Kathiawar), p. 5, n. 1; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII. p. 109.

poet, Śrîdhar (Murlidhar) of Prâg, includes Nagars among the tribes from which the soldiers of the Mughal army were recruited and makes mention also of Nagar leaders, such as Benî Râm Nagar and so forth.[73] This also clearly proves that there was such a tribe or race as Nagar or Nâgar, and that it was in existence even prior to the Gurjaras and Jâṭs. Ethnologists need not be told that when a new tribe penetrates a country and dominates an old tribe there, the latter often accept the conqueror's tribal name and reduce their own name to a surname or a subdivision. To take one instance, the Mauryas, who were one of the earliest clans of India, became merged among the Râjpûts as a Paramâra subdivision called Moris and among the Marâṭhâs as a surname known as More. We have also to remember that amongst the Brâhmaṇs the term Nâgar and its derivatives are not confined simply to the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs of Gujarât and Kâṭhiâwâṛ. We have thus Nagariyâs among the Kanaujiâs, Nagaris among the Kâshmîrî Brâhmaṇs, and Nagara Brâhmaṇs after whom a district of the Mysore State is named Nagar.[74] This points to the Nagar or Nâgar race having spread as far south as the northern part of Mysore and as far north as Kashmîr.

There are two more points to be considered about the Nâgars which still more clearly indicate that originally they formed a tribe or race. Both these points have been set forth by Prâchya-vidyâ-mahârṇava Nagendra Nath Vasu in his informing article on *Nâgars and the Nâgarî Alphabet.*"[75] My attention to it was drawn by Sir George Grierson (*supra*, Vol. XL. p. 152), and I regret that it was not known to me when I wrote my article on *The Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population.* The Nâgars have left their mark in a twofold manner by creating not only a dialect but also a script. Thus Śesha Krishṇa, who flourished about 1150 A.D., says in his *Prâkṛita-chandrikâ* that there were six main Prâkṛits and twenty-seven Apabhraṃśas. Two of these latter are Upanâgara and Nâgara ;[76] and as these have been distinguished from Lâṭa and Gaurjara, it is plain that wherever the Nâgars were in the twelfth century A.D., that is to say, whether they were in Lâṭa, Gujarât or outside, they had two dialects of their own, Nâgara and Upanâgara, which they had preserved in spite of the different surroundings in which they were placed. In the same period lived Hemachandra, the well-known Jaina monk and scholar, who was the preceptor of the Chaulukya sovereign Kumârapâla. He not only mentions, but also describes and illustrates, the Nâgara Apabhraṃśa which " was most closely connected with that form of Prâkṛit known as Śaurasenî, or the Prâkṛit of the central Gangetic Doab."[77] The case is not unlike the Âbhîra dialect referred to by Daṇḍin in his *Kâvyâdarśa.* The Âbhîras were a well-known tribe and developed a dialect of their own to such an extent as to arrest the attention of the rhetorician Daṇḍin.[78] Nay, this Âbhîra dialect has still survived in the Ahirâṇi spoken by the greater part of the population in the Khandesh Districts of the Bombay Presidency. And it may be asked whether this Nâgara Apabhraṃśa also is preserved in any of the modern dialects. The Nâgar Brâhmaṇs have always formed an important part of the Gujarât community. The language which they write, it is true, is " ordinary Gujarâtî, with a slightly greater use of Sanskrit words than is met with in the Gujarâtî of other castes." Nevertheless, " they are said to have a dialect of their own, called Nâgarî Gujarâtî."[79] Again, there were many

[73] *JASB.*, 1900, Pt. I. pp. 50, 56, etc.

[74] *Ibid.*, p. 34 and n. 46. It may be asked why no trace of the Nâgars is found in the region intervening between Gujarât and Mysore. I have already given a table of anthropometric measurements showing that the Prabhu-Kâyasthas of Mahârâshṭra, i.e., of this intervening region, have the same physical characteristics as the Nâgars of Gujarât and the Brâhmaṇs and Kâyasthas of Bengal. A trace of the Nâgar migration is also noticeable in Nagar, the name of a division of the Ahmadnagar district, and the temple of Hâṭakeśvar and the river Sarasvatî at Shrîgoṇḍa not far from it (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. XVII. pp. 739-40). It seems that originally the Nâgar Taluk included this place and that the Nâgars who settled down at Shrîgoṇḍa came from Vaḍnagar with their traditions about Hâṭakeśvara and the Sarasvatî.

[75] *JASB.*, Vol. LXV. Pt. I. p. 114 ff.

[76] *Ibid.*, p. 116.

[77] Grierson's *Ling. Surv. of Ind.*, Vol. IX. Pt. II. p. 327.

[78] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL. p. 17.

[79] *Ling. Surv. of Ind.*, Vol. IX. Pt. II. p. 378.

places and districts named after Nâgars, as they migrated in different directions. One such district is Nâgarchâl which forms the south-east part of the Jaipur State. Its principal town is Nagar or Karkoṭ Nagar. Now, Sir George Grierson informs us that in this province is spoken a dialect called Nâgarchâlî which is a variety of Jaipurî.[80] This shows that it was not in Bombay Gujarât alone but also in the south-east part of Jaipur that the Nâgars by their number have created a dialect of their own. The existence of a Nâgar dialect both in ancient and modern India is enough to indicate that the Nâgars, like the Âbhîras, were an ancient tribe or race which settled in some provinces in such numbers as to develop a dialect of their own. But this is not all. The Nâgars were also noted for their culture and erudition. We find that there was not simply a Nâgar Apabhraṃśa but also a Nâgar script. It is true that the Buddhist work *Lalita-vistara*, which is believed to have been composed in the second or third century A.D., enumerates no less than sixty-four scripts which were learnt by Buddha, but makes no mention of a Nâgar alphabet.[81] Things were different by the middle of the fifth century A.D., when the Jaina religious book *Nandi-sûtra* was put together. Here the author gives a list of eighteen scripts which Ṛishabhadeva, the first Tîrthaṃkara, mastered, and we find *Nâgarî-lipi* mentioned among them. The question now arises: what is meant by *Nâgarî-lipi*? We have got a Marâṭhî-English Dictionary compiled by J. T. Molesworth in 1857 with the help of the Paṇḍits of Mahârâshṭra. If we refer to the word *Nâgarî* in this lexicon, we find the following : "relating to the Nâgar Brâhmaṇ-language, character of writing, etc." As a matter of fact, the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs to this day use the Nâgarî script though they live in Gujarât and Kâṭhiâwâṛ surrounded by people who employ nothing but the Gujarâtî character for their vernacular. This is a most noteworthy fact, because wherever the Nâgars have migrated, they have developed their script, if not dialect also. As we have just seen, the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs have spread as far south as the north-west part of Mysore. Being domiciled in this province, they naturally speak Kanarese, but their books are in Nâgarî or Bâḷabodha, though the books of all other castes there are in the Kanarese character.[82] This is in regard to the extreme south. The same remark holds good in respect of the extreme east, the Sylheṭ district (Assam), up to which, as we have seen above, their movement has been traced. It is curious that in the Sylheṭ and Bânkuṛâ districts, which constitute the eastern and western extremities of Bengal, a form of Nâgarî script is employed by the orthodox Muhammadan community. This is known as 'Sylheṭ Nâgarî' in East Bengal and 'Musalman Nâgarî' in West Bengal. Several manuscripts of scriptures written by the Muhammadans in this script are known. Though the character used is Nâgarî, their language is Bengali, and the metrical form, *payâr*. Hundreds of manuscripts written in Bengali and Persian characters have been collected in Bengal. And the question arises why in Sylheṭ and Bânkuṛâ alone, the script used for writing these books in the Baṅgâlî language should be Nâgarî, instead of the popular Baṅgâlî or Persian. "It is on record that many Brâhmaṇ families of Sylheṭ embraced Islam." And we have perceived that in ancient times there was a regular colony of the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs in this district. The conclusion is incontrovertible that the religious books written in Nâgarî by the Bengal Muhammadans were "the contributions of the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs who had now been converted to Islam." Attention to this point was first drawn by Mr. J. C. Ghosh,[83] and Mr. N. N. Vasu gave us further information on this subject in his address as President of the Bengali Section of the All-India Oriental Conference held in 1930 at Patna. Fuller information is still a keen-felt desideratum, and it is hoped that one of these scholars or both will try to supply it before long. We thus see that the Nâgars had not only a dialect but also a script of their own called Nâgarî after them. It is thus impossible to doubt that the Nâgars originally denoted some cultured tribe or race, which spread over the different parts of India, maintaining their dialect and script.

80 *Ibid.*, p. 191.
81 *JASB.*, Vol. LXV. Pt. I. pp. 125-8.
82 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. III. p. 230.
83 *Ind. His. Quart.*, Vol. VI. pp. 69-70.

I have already adverted to the view of Dr. Guha based on anthropometrical data that the brachyleptorhiny represented by the Bengal Brâhmaṇs and Kâyasthas is found not only among the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs of Gujarât and the Prabhu Kâyasthas of Bombay, but along the whole western littoral right down to Coorg. This explains why Nâgara Brâhmaṇs should be found in the north-west part of Mysore. This also explains why we should find Nâgarakhaṇḍa as a division of the Banavâsî province mentioned in inscriptions ranging between the seventh and eleventh centuries A.D.[84] Epigraphy and ethnology thus go hand in hand towards the inference that the Nagar or Nâgar race had spread as far south on the west coast as Coorg. It may now be asked: what could be the significance of Nagarîs found as a class of Brâhmaṇs in Kashmîr? I have elsewhere pointed out that a very early settlement of the Nâgars, a settlement earlier than Nagara or Ânandapura in North Gujarât, is represented by Nagar or Nagarkoṭ, the old name of Kângḍâ in the Panjâb, situated in the Sawâlakh hills.[85] Was it, however, the earliest seat of the Nâgar race? Could there be any other settlement of theirs which was even earlier than Nagarkoṭ in the Sapâdalaksha range?

It is well-known that Hâṭakeśvara is the tutelary deity of the Nâgars. The deity is mentioned in the *Bhâgavata-Purâṇa*[86] as residing in Vitala, part of Pâtala, which, according to the Amarakośa, is another name for Nâgaloka. *Hâṭaka* is also a synonym for *suvarṇa* or gold, and is specified as a variety of that metal by Kauṭilya.[87] The commentator Bhaṭṭasvâmin[88] explains the word by saying that "*hâṭaka* is that (gold) which is extracted from the mines of Hâṭaka." It therefore seems that there was a country called Hâṭaka where gold was found and which was part of that region where the Nâgas were worshipped. Is there any country answering to this description? Now, *Sabhâparvan*, chap. 28, vs. 3-5, of the *Mahâbhârata* actually speaks of a country named Hâṭaka, guarded by the Guhyakas, which Arjuna subjugated in his expedition of conquest in the Himâlayas. The position of this country can be ascertained better by the fact that Arjuna is represented to have repaired to the Mânasa lake immediately after conquering the Hâṭakas. If we now turn to "A Map of Tibet showing Dr. Sven Hedin's Routes," which is placed at the end of Volume II of his celebrated work, *Trans-Himâlaya Discoveries and Adventures in Tibet*, we find that the two districts which border upon the Mânasa lake are Hundes and Ngari-Korsum. Hundes must be, of course, Hûṇa-deśa and seems to be a comparatively modern name. But Ngari-Korsum is a composite name, the first part of which, viz., Ngari, appears to be the same as Nagarî and connected with the Nagars, just as the former is with the Hûṇas. It therefore seems very tempting to identify Hâṭaka with this Ngari-Korsum. This inference is supported by the fact that not far from it is Tok-jalung, which, according to Sven Hedin, is still a gold-field of importance.[89] How prevalent Nâga worship was and is in Kashmîr is very well known to those who have read the *Nîlamata* or the *Râjataraṅgiṇî*. "From early times," says Sir Aurel Stein,[90] "considerable importance must have been attached to their worship, as is proved by the long account given of them in the *Nîlamata*, by the numerous temples erected near the more famous springs and the popularity and undoubtedly ancient origin of the pilgrimages directed to the latter. The belief in Nâgas is fully alive also in the Muhammadan population of the Valley, which in many places has not ceased to pay a kind of superstitious respect and ill-disguised worship to these deities." Hundes and

[84] *Bom. Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Pt. II. p. 281, n. 3. For another identification see *Imp. Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII. p. 297. Nâgarakhaṇḍa is also mentioned in the *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, VII, 194, the significance of which was not grasped by Sir Aurel Stein in his translation of the work. There is obviously a pun upon the word which at one time signifies 'ginger' or 'betel plant' and at another the province called Nâgarakhaṇḍa, which may be identified with the second of the two chiefships denoted by Hunzâ-Nâgar, referred to further on in the text.

[85] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL. p. 34.

[86] V. 24, 17.

[87] *Prakaraṇa* 31 (p. 85).

[88] *JBORS.* ed., p. 62.

[89] *Trans-Himalaya Discoveries and Adventures in Tibet*, Vol. III, p. 5.

[90] *Râjataraṅgiṇî* (Trans.), Vol. I. p. 6, n. 30.

Ngari-Korsum touch Kângrâ and Kashmîr on the west. Nâga folklore and Nâga worship in the former provinces must have been practically the same as in the latter.[91] All these data converge to the conclusion that the original place from which the Nâgars hailed was Hâṭaka, more probably the same as Nagri-Korsum, and situated in close proximity to the Mânasa lake. It is from this region that the Nagars migrated southward to Nagar or Nagarkoṭ and westward to Kashmîr, where evidence of their movement is preserved not only in the Nagarî class of Brâhmaṇs but also in the province called Hunza-Nagar,[92] which is really two small chiefships to the extreme north-west of Kashmîr. They seem to have proceeded further (south-)westward and settled at a place called Nagar or Na-ka-lo-ho as Yuan Chwang[93] calls it. The same place appears to have been referred to as Nagara in a Kharoshṭhî inscription on the celebrated Mathurâ Lion-Capital, which Prof. Sten Konow,[94] following Cunningham, identified with Nagar on the Kâbul river. Similarly, we have to take note of a place and a river both called Nugor (Nagar) in the southernmost part of Baluchistân. The Nugor, like its neighbour the Dasht river, falls in the Gwattar Bay of the Arabian Sea.

If we once admit that there was such a tribe or race as Nagar or Nâgar, the twenty-four surnames pointed out above seem to have originally been clans of that race. One may perhaps wonder how Śarman, Varman, Gupta, Dâsa and so forth can at all be considered to be clan names, as they are taken to be the name endings of the different classes of Hindu Society. Thus Deva and Śarman are taken as affixes to be added to the names of the Brâhmaṇs, Varman and Trâta of the Kshatriyas, Gupta, Bhûti and Datta of the Vaiśyas, and Dâsa of the Śûdras. We have already shown that Śarmaka and Varmaka, which are the same as Śarman and Varman, have been actually specified as two clans or peoples in the *Mahâbhârata*. Secondly, that Gupta was not a name-suffix, but was a family name, is known from the many inscriptions of the Gupta princes that have been found. These Guptas again were not Vaiśyas, but were a ruling Kshatriya family. Thirdly, who can dispute the holiness of the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs as Brâhmaṇs ? But they have not only Gotras and Avaṭaṅkas (surnames) but Âmushyâyaṇas which indicate clan-names. And, curiously enough, these Âmushyâyaṇas include not only Śarman and Deva, but also Varman and Trâta, Gupta, Bhûti and Datta and, above all, Dâsa. The so-called name-affixes of not only the Brâhmaṇs, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas but also the Sûdras are thus found as the Âmushyâyaṇas or clan names of the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs, the holiest of the holy Brâhmaṇs of Gujarât and Kâṭhiâwâṛ. Again, it may be urged that it seems strange that such terms as Pâla, Pâlita, Rakshita, Ghosha, Vardhana and so forth can ever become family names. Pâla and Pâlita come from the same root ; and if Pâla is a family name, it is curious that Pâlita also should become a family name. Pâla again means 'protection' and Pâlita 'protected.' How can 'protection' or 'protected' come to be looked upon as family names. Similarly, Vardhana also means 'increase,' and it is inexplicable how a word which has this signification can serve to denote the name of a family. This objection may however be answered on the supposition that most of the twenty-two surnames mentioned above denote totem groups which later on became family names. These can be divided roughly

[91] *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Pt. I. p. 34.

[92] *Imp. Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII. p. 225 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. I. p. 7 ff. In the composite name Hunzâ-Nâgar, while Nâgar stands for the Nâgar people, Hunzâ seems to be so called after the Hûṇas. It is curious that the Hûṇas should associate with the Nâgars in Kashmir as they do in Hâṭaka near the Mânasa Lake. The people of Hâṭaka were Guhyakas as we have seen from the *Sabhâparvan* above. And it is also curious that the language of the Nâgars of Hunzâ-Nâgar is *Yeshkun*=*Yaksha* which is another name for Guhyaka (Grierson's *Ling. Surv. of India*, Vol. VIII. Pt. II. p. 551). Again, I am informed by Dr. Guha that Prof. R. B. Dixon of Harvard measured a large number of Hunzâ-Nâgars and found them distinctly brachycephalic, a conclusion which agrees with the anthropometrical data for the Nâgars of Gujarât.

[93] Watters' ed., Vol. I. p. 182 ff.

[94] *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, Vol. II. Pt. I, pp. 45 and 48 (F). Compare also Nagarahâra in Uttarâpatha mentioned in the Ghosrâwâ inscription of the time of Devapâla (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII. p. 309).

into four classes, namely (1) those which are connected with Śiva, (2) those which bear the names of demi-gods, (3) those which are derived from plant names and (4) those connected with weapons. As Hâṭakeśvara is the tutelary deity of the Nâgars, it is natural that there should be some totems connected with Śiva. There can be no doubt about Nandin, and Guha, as they are the vehicle and a son of that god respectively. Vardhana also is a name not only of Śiva but also of one of Skanda's attendants. Bhûti also denotes the ashes with which Śiva and his followers besmear their bodies. These four may therefore be reasonably taken as totem groups connected with Śiva. Then, again, some of the surnames seem to be the names of certain minor deities or demi-gods. That Chandra denotes 'the moon' and Mitra 'the sun' need scarcely be pointed out. That Vasu is the name of a class of deities, eight in number, and that Soma and Dh araare two of them is also well-known. Deva can also be recognised as the name of Indra, which itself is a surname among Bengal Kâyasthas. Similarly, that Nâgas are serpent-demons with Vâsuki as one of their kings and that Pâla is the name of a snake demon of Vâsuki race hardly requires to be mentioned. Perhaps with these may be associated Datta, which according to the *Tâṇḍya-Brâhmaṇa* (XXV. 15, 3) is the name of an ascetic who was a snake-priest. The third class of these surnames seems to be connected with plants. Thus Ghosha[95] denotes *Luffa fœtida*, or a similar plant, and Dâma the *Artemisia* flower. Similarly, Pâlita denotes *Trophis aspera*. This explains two other names, namely, Rakshita and Gupta, which are synonyms of Pâlita. The fourth class appears to be related to armoury. Thus Deva and Dhara, if they do not stand for Indra and one of the eight Vasus respectively, may be taken to denote 'sword.' To sum up, most of the surnames specified above can be explained as the names of the totems after which the different clans of the Nâgar race were named.

It will be seen that there was a tribe or race called Nagar or Nâgar whose original seat was the country of Hâṭaka situated near the Mânasa Lake. It gradually migrated westward and southward. Its westward movement is indicated by such place names as Hunza-Nagar in Kashmîr and Nagar on the Kâbul river. Their first settlement southward was Nagar or Nagarkoṭ, from where different clans such as the Mitras and Dattas occupied such provinces as Pañchâla, Kosala and Mathurâ from the second century B.C. to the second century A.D. These were followed by the Nâgas, Guptas and Varmans, who similarly held different parts of North India. Then came the Vardhanas, Pâlas and Senas who spread as far east as Bengal, whereas the Maitrakas, who were related to the old Mitras, as the Kâdambas to the Kadambas or the Chaulukyas to the Chalukyas, conquered Gujarât and Kâṭhiâwâṛ. Of course, these Nâgars spread as far south as Nâgarakhaṇḍa in Banavâsî, but it is not clear whether they went on conquering or simply migrating. The spread of the Nâgars along the western coast as far as Coorg can easily be noted, but how they migrated to Bengal is far from clear. Anyhow, it is pretty clear that the Nâgars are an ancient and erudite race indigenous to India and not of late foreign, barbarous origin as was thought twenty years ago.*

APPENDIX A.

The configuration of the Gotra system as depicted in the Śrautasûtra has not been properly studied. The idea that the Gotras were founded by the Eight Ṛishis is a later invention. The Gotras called Gautamas and Bharadvâjas were, according to the Śrautasûtra, originated by Gautama and Bharadvâja, who were two of these Eight Sages. But instead of their being mentioned separately they have been clustered together under the comprehensive Aṅgiras Gaṇa along with some nondescript Gotras such as Vishṇuvṛiddhas, Kaṇvas and so forth. If the Eight Ṛishis are the founders of the eight separate Gotras, why are the Gautamas not separated from the Bharadvâjas? On the contrary, why are they placed under the Aṅgiras Gaṇa? Again, why are such Gotras as Vishṇuvṛiddhas and Kaṇvas

[95] Ghosha is also mentioned as a deity in *Śukla-Yajurvedasaṃhitâ* (XXX, 19).

* I have to thank Mr. J. C. Ghosh for the great help he gave me in the arduous work of gathering materials for this paper.

placed under this Gaṇa along with the Gautamas and Bharadvâjas ? If the Gotras founded by the Eight Sages can alone be called Gotras, then Vishṇuvṛiddhas and Kaṇvas cease to be Gotras, because Vishṇuvṛiddha and Kaṇva are not included among the Eight Sages. Nor is Aṅgiras mentioned as one of these Sages. The conclusion is therefore irresistible that the idea that all the Gotras were derived from the Eight Ṛishis was a later introduction and that the Gotra system was originally of an entirely different formation. It seems that just as we find Gaṇa, Kula and Śâkhâs in the Jaina brotherhood, so the Brâhmaṇs were in ancient times divided into Gaṇa, Paksha and Gotra in the descending order. Of these the term Gaṇa has survived only in the case of the Bhṛigus and the Aṅgirases, and we shall not be very wrong if we suppose that all the other Gotras, such as the Atris, the Viśvâmitras and so forth were originally taken to be Gaṇas.

Again, the Gotra system in the earlier period had different exogamous rules. All the Gaṇas or the comprehensive Gotras, except the Bhṛigus and the Aṅgirases, had one common custom in regard to marriage, namely, if there were even one Pravara common to any two families they were looked upon as of the same Gotra. This, however, was not so in regard to the other two Gaṇas. In their case, as we have noticed above, if among five Pravaras there were three common, then alone the sameness of Gotra was established and marriage prohibited. Similarly, in the case of families with three Pravaras, marriage was forbidden between two families if they had two Pravaras in common. What is strange, however, is that among the *Tryârsheya* Pravaras of both these Gaṇas, no two Pravaras are found common in the lists set forth by the Śrautasûtras. Why the rule was laid down, namely, that in the case of the *Tryârsheyas* two Pravaras constituted the sameness of Gotra, is inexplicable. Probably *Tryârsheyas* of this description were forgotten even in the time of the Śrautasûtras.

APPENDIX B.

It may be asked why the Kâyasthas of Bengal have come to observe *aśaucha* for a period of one month like ordinary Śûdras if they were originally Brâhmaṇs. How social tyranny was practised by one caste upon another is too well-known to require any elucidation. How the Prabhu-Kâyasthas of Mahârâshṭra were being compelled by the Peshwas to give up their right to the *upanayana* ceremony and how the Sârasvatas of Mahârâshṭra were being declared non-Brâhmaṇs by some other Brâhmaṇ castes of the province simply because they ate fish are matters of history. The Prabhu-Kâyasthas and the Sârasvatas successfully withstood the opposition, but the Kâyasthas of Bengal seemed to have succumbed to it. Again, do the Bengal Brâhmaṇs themselves observe *âchâra* in strict conformity with the Śrauta- or Dharma- sûtras ? If we carefully scan the Pravaras of these Brâhmaṇs, we notice many interlopers. One has only to consult the *Gotra-pravara-viveka* chapter of Dhanañjaya's *Dharmapradîpa*. Thus Viśvâmitra Gotra has the following Pravaras : Viśvâmitra, Marîchi and Kaushika, whereas the Śrautasûtras enumerate Vaiśvâmitra, Daivaśravasa and Daivatarasa. How Marîchi and Kaushika were imported into this Gotra is far from clear. Similarly, the Atri Gotra in Bengal has the following Pravaras : Atri, Âtreya and Śatâtapa, as against Âtreya, Ârchanânasa and Śyâvâśva of the Śrautasûtras ; and the Agasti has the Pravaras : Agasti, Dadhîchi and Jaimini as against Âgastya, Dârḍhachyuta and Aidhmavâha of the Śrautasûtras. How these insertions arose in the Pravaras of Bengal is inexplicable. But this much cannot be doubted, that the Bengal Brâhmaṇs have Pravaras quite unknown to and unsanctioned by the Śrautasûtras. It may however be contended that these Gotras pertain to the Vaidiks and not to the Râḍhis, who are therefore purer in *âchâra*. It is true that there are no interpolations in the Pravaras of the latter, but there is something objectionable in one or two of their marriage customs. It is scarcely necessary to add that what is called *svajan-âkshepa* or marriage within prohibited degrees was prevalent, until very recently, among the Râḍhî Brâhmaṇs (*Vaṅger jâtîyaitihâsa*, 2nd ed., Brâhmaṇa-kâṇḍa, Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 189). Secondly, it is perfectly intelligible if a Gâṅguli does

not marry a Ghoshâl, because Ghoshâl's Gotra is Vatsa, and Gâṅguli, being of Sâvarṇi Gotra, is also a Vatsa. Both thus belong to the bigger Vatsa Gotra, and we can therefore understand why a Gâṅguli cannot marry a Ghoshâl. But what about the Banerjîs and Chatterjîs? It may be argued that their Pravaras are entirely different. Thus Chatterjî is of the Kâśyapa Gotra and has the Pravaras: Kâśyapa, Âvatsâra and Naidhruva. Banerjî is Śâṇḍila in Gotra and has the Pravaras: Śâṇḍila, Âsita and Daivala. These Pravaras, being entirely different, the Gotras also must be entirely different. It may be contended that there can therefore be no objection at all to a Banerjî marrying a Chatterjî. But are Kâśyapa and Śâṇḍila radically different Gotras? Because it is worthy of note that the Śâṇḍila Gotra has four alternative sets of Pravaras, each consisting of three. One of these four forms the Pravaras of the Banerjî family and has been just mentioned. But the other three sets have two Pravaras in common, namely, Kâśyapa and Âvatsâra. This clearly shows that Śâṇḍila is, after all, a division of Kâśyapa, and that the Banerjîs and the Chatterjîs are therefore of identical Gotra. They should not thus marry; but as a matter of fact, they do marry, though a *sagotra* marriage is opposed to all Hindu usage.

A BALLAD OF KERALA.

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(*Continued from page 12.*)

Uṇichandrôṟ calls his Nâyars and asks them to go at once and engage the services of Ariṅṅôṭeṟ, a renowned warrior of Kôlôstrinâḍ,[15] who accepts the championship. The latter engages his carpenter to erect the *aṅgattaṭṭu* or wooden platform, standing on which the duel is fought, and intrigues with him to do foul work. Uṇikkônâṟ hears of the preparations made by his adversary and hastens to find a combatant to fight his cause. He assumes the dignity and title of *Vâṟunnôṟ*, or he who rules, and starts with his twenty-one Nâyar attendants. After several days' fruitless wandering, they come to a strange and distant land, and, resting under the shade of a friendly banyan tree, they hold consultation as to which side to turn :—

Chêkavaṟ pulappuḷḷa nâṭum vîṭum	Places and houses well known for *chêkavaṟs*
Ârum paṟaññiṭṭu kêṭṭiṭṭilla	We have not heard anybody tell.
Ârânṟṟe nâṭṭilum vannu nammal	We have reached a strange land
Sakhiyâyiṭṭârume illayallo.	And friends have we none.
Appôḷ paṟayunnu Nâyanmârum	The Nâyars then say,
Nêrchapalatume nêrnukoḷḷu	Do not neglect to make vows,
Atutâne kêḷkunnu vâṟunnôrum	The *Vâṟunnôṟ* at this
Nêrcha palavidham nêrunnuṇḍu	Makes vows to various shrines.

That very instant they espy a Pâṇan[16] boy coming that way. The *Vâṟunnôṟ* accosts him and asks him whence he comes and whither he goes. The boy replies :

Kaṟuttênâṟ[17] nâṭṭinnu viṭakollunnu	"I come from Kaṟuttênâr country."
Eviṭêkâyi pôkunnu Pâṇa nîyyu	"Where do you go, Pâṇan?"

[15] Kôlôstrinâḍ or Kolattunâḍ, the kingdom of the Kôlattiris, who once ruled over practically the whole of N. Malabar, with their capital in the vicinity of modern Cannanore, where a descendant of the family known as the *chiṟakkal tamburâm*, now resides.

[16] Pâṇan. A caste of musicians, actors and players. It is stated that they were minstrels under the ancient Tamil kings, and that with the extinction of the latter in S. India their profession as bards ceased to exist, most of them finding their way to Kerala, the Land of Charity, for a livelihood. The descendants of these emigrants are now found in Malabar and Kanara as devil dancers and basket-makers. (Srinivasa Iyengar, *Tamil Studies*, p. 84.) The Malayâlam Pâṇans are a caste of exorcists and devil dancers, also called Malayâns in certain parts, particularly in N. Malabar, where the name Pâṇan is not ordinarily mentioned. A description of the caste appears on pages 29-42 of Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of S. India*, vol. VI.

[17] *Karuttenar* is the modern *Kadattanad*, in Kurumbranâḍ *tâluk* of North Malabar.

Ûrilirakkânum pôṇaṭiyan	" I am going to beg."
Ûrilirannâlo endu kiṭṭum	" What will you get by begging ? "
Uṇṇumbôḷ chennâlô chôṟu kiṭṭum	" Meals, if I go at meal time,
Têykkumbôḷ chennâlô eṇṇa kiṭṭum	" Oil, at bathing time,
Chettumbôḷ chennâlô kaḷḷu kiṭṭum	" Toddy, at tapping time,
Attâṟa chôṟṟinnu ariyum kiṭṭum	" Rice for a meal
Sandhya[18] viḷakkinnu eṇṇa kiṭṭum	" And oil for the sunset light."

Uṇichandṟôṟ makes a present of a piece of cloth and prevails on him to give detailed information about securing a suitable *chêkavaṟ*. This he gives :—

Karutênâṟ[19] nâṭum kiṟakke aṟṟam	" Bounded on the east by Karutênâḍ
Puttûram pâṭam padiññnaṟ aṟṟam	" And on the west by the Puttûram fields
Eḷavaṇṇûṟ nâṭalloru nâṭallâṇe	" Is the place known as Eḷavannûr.
Aviṭe irikkunnu mûvaṟ chêkôn	" There live three *chêkôṟs*.
Achanum chêkôn makanum chêkôn	" Both the father and the son are *chêkôṟs*,
Marumakanennoru chêkônuṇḍu	" And there is a nephew, also a *chêkôṟ*.
Êṟaṅgam veṭṭi jeyichatachchan	" Seven combats has the father won ;
Achchanu vayassume kâlamâṇu	" He is in his old age.
Makan Chêkavare kiṭṭiyeṅgil	" If the son *chekôṟ* is secured
Niṅṅalku aṅgam jayikkumallo	" Your victory is assured."

He gives full directions as to how to get to the place. Guided by these directions, the party proceeds and reaches the place by evening. They spend the night at a neighbouring house and are awakened the next morning by the sound of the *pûjâ* bell from the *chêkavaṟ's* house.

Vêgam eṟunîṟṟu vâṟunnôrum	The Vâṟunnôṟ wakes up and quickly
Kei vâyi mukhavum chitam varutti	Washes face, hands and mouth,
Veṟṟila muṟukkum kaṟikkunnuṇḍu	Has *pânsupârî*
Eṭa paṟaññu puṟappeṭunnu	And starts, taking leave,
Paṭiyum paṭippura kaṭannavarum	And crossing the gate and the gate house,
Puttûram viṭṭil paṭikkal chennu	Reaches the front of the Puttûram house,
Maṇḍaka muṟṟattum chenniraṅṅi	Enters the front courtyard and
Mullattaṟa chuṟṟum chavaḷam châri	Observes the spears resting against the jasmine beds.
Pularuvân êṟaṟa râvuḷḷappôḷ	Before daybreak,
Pûṅgôṟi châttanṟṟekûval kêṭṭu	Hearing the cock crow.
Muṟṟamaṭikkunna Mâṇipeṇṇum	The girl Mâṇi who sweeps the courtyard[20]
Ñeṭṭi eṟunîṟṟu peṇṇavaḷum	Gets up, awakened by the cock's crow,
Âṭakal nannâyi kuṭaññuṭuttu	And dressing herself with care,
Kâṟkûntal nannâyi kuteññu keṭṭi	Arranges her locks

[18] *Sandhya vilakku* is the circular bell-metal hanging lamp which it is still the practice to light at sunset all over Kerala in Hindu households. Twisted strands of cotton rags form the wicks, which are placed uniformly all around a circular groove which is fed with cocoanut oil.

[19] Kaḍattanâd in Kurumbranâd *tâluk* of N. Malabar.

[20] This gives an insight into the habits of an ordinary Malayâli household. The first thing done before sunrise, which should be finished before the rest of the household wake up, is to sweep the courtyards all around the house. This is done with care and thoroughness, after which a thin solution of cowdung in water is sprinkled over the entire area.

Paṭakâli muṟṟattum chenniṟaṅṅi	And, coming to the courtyard,
Bhûmiyum toṭṭu nerukil vechchu	Reverently touches the earth
Suryabhagavâne kei toṟutu	And, after worshipping the sun god,
Nâṭakaśalayil kaṭannu chennu	Proceeds to the theatre hall
Tîyûtidîpam koḷutti vechchu	And blowing the embers lights the lamp,[21]
Viḷakku niṟayôḷam eṇṇoṟichchu	Filling it with oil,
Vaṭakkê puṟattêkku iṟaṅṅi peṇṇu	And going over to the northern side
Muṟṟamaṭikunna chûleṭuttu	Takes the broom
Maṇḍaka muṟṟattum chennavaḷu	And proceeds to the principal courtyard.

Startled by the number of Nâyars assembled there, she runs to her father and, waking him up, announces that twenty-two Nâyars are waiting outside, one of them distinguished by his golden headwear. The father, hastily performing his morning prayers, goes to meet the Nâyars. The *Vâṟunnôṟ*, seeing the old man coming, takes no notice of him nor does he even get up on seeing him. The *chêkavaṟ*, advancing, makes enquiries as to the object of their visit :—

Nellînô vittînô vannu niṅṅal	" For paddy or for seeds are you come ?
Kannînô kâḷakkô vannu niṅṅal	" Or for cow or for bulls,
Aṅgam piṭippânô vannu niṅṅal	" Or for combat have you come ? "

The *Vâṟunnôṟ* answers that they have come in quest of a proper *chêkôṟ*. The old man replies that he himself is the *chêkôṟ*, and learns that the antagonist is Ariṅṅôṭeṟ.

Ânaye mayakkunna chêkôrâṇe	" He is a *chêkôṟ* who can charm even elephants
Kaḷḷa chati êṟum Ariṅṅodarku	" And is an adept in foul play.
Atinêtum vêṇḍilla vâṟunnôre	" That matters not, *Vâṟunnôṟ ;*
Mutu onnu chuḷiññatum kûṭṭâkkeṇḍa	" It recks not that one of my shoulders is rather sore ;
Paṭṭu nara kaṇḍatum kûṭṭakkêṇḍa	" It recks not that I am grey ;
Kayyonnu chuliññatum kûṭṭakkêṇḍa	" It recks not that one of my arms is rather infirm ;
Kâlonnu vîṅṅiyatum kûṭṭâkkêṇḍa	" It recks not that one of my legs is a little inflamed ;
Pallonnu pôyatum kûṭṭakkêṇḍa	" It recks not that I have lost a tooth :
Iniyoru aṅgattinum vâlyamuṇḍu	" I am young enough for another fight."

The *Vâṟunnôṟ*, amazed at the spirit of the old man, enquires of Ârômaṟ. The father replies that his son Ârômaṟ is yet a boy. The latter, overhearing the conversation, calls the girl Kuṭṭimâṇi, who tells him that they showed scant courtesy to his father and that they are come for a champion combatant. At this Ârômaṟ soon finishes his morning prayers and proceeds to the inner apartments of the house. Opening the strong room, he pulls out the box of jewels and adorns himself as described below.

Nâḍuvâṟi koṭuttoru ponnunttoppi	Wears the golden cap presented by the *nâḍuvâṟi*,
Kôvil koṭuttoru kottuvaḷa	The bracelets presented by the ruling king,
Nâgâri koṭuttoru ponkuppâyam	The coat of gold presented by *nâgâri*,
Śishyakal koṭuttoru ponchûrakkôl	The gold-mounted walking stick, the gift of his disciples,

[21] This shows that the kitchen fire is kept just sufficiently alive for the hot embers to be blown by the mouth into fire—a practice which still persists.

Dêśavâṛi koṭuttoru nâgamâla	The *nâga* chain presented by the *dêśavâṛi*,
Eṛampiri nalla valampiriyum	Bracelets with left hand and right hand twists,
Chakkamuḷḷan vaḷa kottuvaḷa	And bracelets of jack-fruit rind pattern,
Tântanne tîrpichcha ponmôtiram	And the golden ring which he himself got made.
Chamayaṅṅaḷokkayum chêrttaṇiññu	Thus adorned with all his decorations,
Ponnum metiyaḍi êṛikkoṇḍu	And putting on gold-bedecked sandals, and
Ponchûral kôlâle ûnni ûnni	Leaning on a golden staff,
Âna naḍayum naḍannu chêkôn	Walks with the measured and majestic gait of an elephant, and
Nâlkeṭṭakattu kaṭannu chennu	Proceeds to the enclosure of the *nâlukaṭ* house
Nâṭakaśalayil chenniraṅṅi	And reaches the theatre hall,
Atutâne kânunnu peṛṛoramma	Where his mother catches sight of him,
Chamayaṅṅal sûshichchu nôkkunnuṇḍu	And, carefully scanning his decorations, remarks :
Chamayam koṛaykuṇṇi ponmakane	" Adorn yourself less pompously, my darling son ;
Nâvoṛu[22] tanneyum taṭṭippôkum	" Beware of the evil tongue.
Nâḍuvâṛi kaṇḍâl naḍuṅṅippôkum	" Even the *nâḍuvâṛi* will start on seeing you,
Kôyma kaṇḍal viṛaykumallo	" And the Râja, should he see you, will be shocked."
Entikuṛavâṇḍo peṛṛoramme	" Mother, why should I lessen my glory ? "
Aviṭennu vêgam naṭannu chêkôr	The *chêkôṛ* advancing thence soon
Maṇṇabha muṛṛattum chenniraṅṅi	Comes to the courtyard
Mullattaṛakkalum Chennu chêkôn	And reaches the jasmine bed
Paṭakâḷi muṛṛattiraṅṅikkoṇḍu	And the fighting arena, and
Paṭippura nêrayum chellunnuṇḍu	Thence the gate-house.
Iruṭṭattiḍivâḷu minnum pôle	As the lightning flashing in the dark,
Muṛṛattu konna pûttapôle	As *konna*[23] flowers blossoming in the front yard,
Eḷamâvu tayyu taḷaṛtta pôle	Bright as the tender shoots of the mango sapling
Appôṛe kânunnu vâṛunnôrum	The *Vâṛunnôṛ* catches sight of him
Ñeṭṭi eṛunnîṛṛu vâṛunnôrum	And gets up startled,
Kûṭe eṛunnîṛṛu Nâyanmârum	And together stand the Nâyars likewise startled.
Keikoṇḍu vilakkunnu Ârômerum	Ârômaṛ signs to them to sit down :
Irikkêḍo Irikkêḍo Nâyanmâre	" Sit ye down, ye Nâyars,
Ennakkaṇḍu niṅṅal eṇîkkavênḍa	" Stand ye not on seeing me,
Achchane kaṇḍappôḷ enîṛṛillallô	" Ye, who did not [stand] on seeing my father."
Atu tâne kêlkkunnu Nâyanmârum	At this the Nâyars
Vâkkôḍe kaiyum patichu ninnu	Remain silenced, with hands on their lips ;
Âchârattoḍavar nilkunnuṇḍu	And thus they stand with reverence.

22 This refers to the belief in the evil eye, which is widely prevalent.

23 *Cassia fistula*. The flowers grow in clusters of golden yellow.

The son makes the same enquiries as the father, whether they have come for cattle or calf, for seeds or for paddy. The *Vâṛunnôṛ* explains his cause, and the dissensions in detail, summing up with the following orders of the *Kôyma* :—

Padaveṭṭu tammil tudaṅṅiyâlô	" If you wage battle[24]
Êṛiyajanaṅṅal naśichchupôkum	" Many a man will die,
Nallaṅga chêkavare têḍikôḷin	" Look for champion *aṅgam* fighters.
Aṅgampiṭichu jayikkunnôṛku	" Whoever wins in the *aṅgam*,
Avarkkumê tannêyum mûppuvâṛka	" He will rule as the elder.
Â moṛi toṭṭuḷḷoraṅgamâne	" Thus has arisen this *aṅgam*."
Atutâne kêlkkunnu chêkavarum	The *chêkôṛ*, hearing all,
Â moṛikkaṅgam piṭikkavêṇam	Agrees that it is a cause worth fighting for.

When, however, Ârômaṛ learns that the opposite party is championed by Ariṅṅôṭeṛ, he hesitates remarking that he cannot fight Ariṅṅôṭeṛ, who can charm even elephants, and he is but young. He accordingly tells them that they may return the way they came. Despairing of success, the Nâyars exhort the *Vâṛunnôṛ* to make vows, and he accordingly makes offerings at various shrines. The vows soon take effect, and Ârômaṛ again emerging gives his consent. He accordingly asks the *Vâṛunnôṛ* to deposit the *aṅgakiṛippaṇam* or the requisite payments for fighting the *aṅgam*. The *Vâṛunnôṛ* hastens to deposit the fees, which however being not to the standard fixed by Ârômaṛ, the latter instructs him to place the fees in a hundred and one lots, with a thousand and one *fanams* in each lot. The *Vâṛunnôṛ* acts accordingly. Ârômaṛ then intimates his resolve to his father and mother, who are distracted at the idea of their only son going to fight, perhaps to certain death, and a long dialogue ensues :—

Enne chatichcheṭa ponmakanê	" You have deceived me, my dear son.
Nîyôḍi ôḍi kaḷikkumkâlam	" When you were running about as a child,
Annu ninandallo ponmakane	" Then, my son, I feared that
Ni yûṭṭituṇmân vidhiillennu	" I was not destined to eat your bread.
Putṛa rillâte irunnakâlam	" When I was childless and was yearning for a son,
Kânmân kotichcha makanallô nî	" Were you born, my son.
Kuḷam kaṇḍêḍam kuḷichchu ñâne	" Bathing wherever a tank was seen
Kallu kaṇḍêḍam toṛutu ñâne	" And worshipping wherever a stone was seen,
Enniṟṟuṇḍâya makanallô ni	" Thus was I blessed with a son in you.

[24] This explains the *raison d'être* of the form of single combat known as *aṅgam* of the earlier days, so clearly portrayed in this song, which is in this respect unique. Open warfare between two contending parties would lead to heavy loss of men, without however affording a solution of the matter in dispute which thus remained a fruitful source of mischief and fresh outbreaks. The *aṅgam* was therefore an institution devised in the interests of the public in an age of martial spirit, when the air was rife with feuds of diverse kinds. Armed retainers were the order of the day, and men carried their lives in their hands, ready to lay them down for any cause. In such an age the institution of the *aṅgam* was a boon in that it helped to preserve the man-power of the country, and as every feud came under the cognizance of the *nâḍuvâṛi* of the place, the ultimate authority for the settlement of all disputes, the latter adjudicated as to what disputes should be referred to decision by an *aṅgam*, and asked the contending parties to chose their own champions, who fought the battle for them. They were no doubt very well paid for their services, as one of the two was bound to be defeated and slain. Those who took to *aṅgam* fighting as a profession formed a separate community distinguished by the name of *chêkôṛs*. Intimately connected with the institution of the *aṅgam*, were the *kalaris* presided over by these *chêkôṛs*, who were the *âśâns* or *gurukkals* of the *kalarie*.

Ninne vir̤r̤u paṇam keṭṭavêṇḍa	" I don't want to sell you for money."
Mâṇibhakêḍu par̤ayallachcha	" Don't speak such cowardly words, father.
Entu vidya paṭhippichchenne	" Did you not train me to fight ? "
Atu tâne kêṭṭəllo achan chêkôn	The father, hearing these words,
Neññattu kayyum patichukoṇḍu	Is overpowered with grief
Âlasyattôḍeyakattu pôyi	And goes inside broken-hearted.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

INDIA IN CURRENT LITERATURE.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. VI, Pt. 2 (1931).—This is a Volume of Indian Studies presented to Prof. E. J. Rapson, comprising a collection of short papers on Oriental subjects by many of the leading Orientalists of the day, which is commended to the attention of our readers. Among the 32 articles printed a few may perhaps be selected for mention. Jules Bloch writes on "Asoka et la Magadhi." W. Caland publishes a fairly long list of corrections of Eggeling's translation of the *Śatapatha-brâhmaṇa*. J. Charpentier, in a paper entitled "Antiochus, King of the Yavanas," adduces many grounds for holding that the Antiochus named in two of Aśoka's inscriptions was Antiochus I (281-262/1 B.C.), and not Antiochus II (262/1-246 B.C.) G. Coedès cites inscriptions from Cambodia, Champa and Java that attest the use of numerals with position value, and including a sign for zero, at least as early as the seventh century A.D. A. Foucher writes a very interesting little note, illustrated by a sketch map, on changes in the highway from Baktria to the Panjâb, showing how the route was changed first from between Dakka and Taxila, and later between Kâpiśî and Jalâlâbâd, following and in consequence of the changes in the capitals of Gandhâra and Kapiśa, from Pushkarâvatî to Purushapura and from Kâpiśî to Kâbul, respectively. Sir George Grierson contributes a paper on "Conjunct Consonants in Dardic"; E. W. Hopkins, a delightful note on "Hindu Salutations"; A. B. Keith, on "The Doctrine of the Buddha"; while S. Lévi describes a new document discovered by him in Nepal relating to the Tantric cult of Vajrayoginî. Sten Konow, in a "Note on a Kharoṣṭhî Akṣara," suggests that from the view-point of Saka it seems as if the Brâhmî *ts* is an adaptation of Kharoṣṭhî *ts*, and that this *akṣara* cannot well have been a *ts*, but rather, as the shape of the *akṣara* would seem to imply, *tś*. P. S. Noble and F. W. Thomas write on Kharoṣṭhî documents from Turkestan; while R. L. Turner presents a linguistic study on the future stem appearing in the language of the Aśoka inscriptions. Sir Aurel Stein, in a valuable note on "The Ephedra, the Hûm Plant, and the Soma," puts forward the suggestion that the plant from which the *soma* of early Vedic times and the *haoma* sung in the Yasna was obtained was probably the wild rhubarb in one or other of its closely allied species. He emphasises the fact that both the Ṛig Veda and Avesta uniformly refer to the mountains as the home of the plant, and proceeds to identify the localities named in Yasna X, 11, where the distribution of the plant is described, with mountainous areas in Afghânistân from north of the Hindukush to the Safêd-kôh and Tirâh. He refers to the conclusions suggested in the record of a tour through Wazîristân and N. Balûchistân in 1927-28, that the Vedic tribes probably occupied the hilly territories between the Indus valley and eastern Îrân for some length of time before descending into the Panjâb plains. In the course of inquiries made during the same tour he was informed that from the juice of the succulent stalks of the wild rhubarb, which is found widely in the hills, a kind of sweet sherbet is prepared, which is said to be on sale in the bazars of Qandahâr and Quetta during most of the year. If this identification can be accepted, it would explain, as he says, how the cherished drink would be available to the Vedic folk in their early settlements on the plains. It is interesting to note in this connexion that Dr. Albert Regel, the botanist employed by the Russian government to explore the area between the Oxus and the Jaxartes in 1882-84, had reported in a letter to Prof. von Roth of Tübingen that he was convinced that the *soma* plant was not to be found in those tracts, adding that "the plant which comes nearest to the description is the *Rhubarb*" (*Papers relating to the Soma Plant*, Govt. of I., Rev. and Agric. Dept., 1884; and *ZDMG*, 1884, p. 134).

Acta Orientalia, vol. X, Pt. I (1931).—The wide and valuable linguistic researches carried out by Dr. G. Morgenstierne in northern Afghânistân and adjacent regions are too little known. In this issue he publishes two popular songs in Pashai, a language of which, prior to the publication of the *L.S.I.*, only some short lists of words collected by Burnes and Leech were available. Even during the Linguistic Survey, the boundaries of the language were thought to be the Laghmân river on the west and the Kunar on the east, but Dr. Morgenstierne has traced its use as far west as the Panjshîr river up to Gulbahar (nearly 50 miles north of Kâbul), and has found it to be split up into "a number of widely differing dialects, many of them mutually unintelligible."

In a carefully reasoned article entitled "Where was the Saka language reduced to writing," Dr. Sten Konow puts forward arguments for thinking that it was in the Khotan region that the first attempts were made to write the language. He indicates the linguistic evidence tending to show that, besides Sanskrit, the North-western Prâkrit must have been known to and utilized by those Sakas who reduced the language to writing: "We cannot, therefore," he adds, "think of the country of the Western Kṣatrapas." In the course of this paper the linguistic features of Saka, and particularly those which he is able to observe in document No. 661 of the Kharoṣṭhî documents from Turkestan, have been discussed in a very suggestive manner. Dr. Konow argues from the evidence available that the Brâhmî characters were in use in Khotan as early as the end of the second century A.D. and suggests that their introduction may have coincided roughly with that of Buddhism in the latter part of the first century B.C. It will be noticed that these views differ from those of Dr. F. W. Thomas (as expressed in *Asia Major*, II, 251 ff.).

T'oung Pao, vol. XXVIII, Pts. 1-2 (1931).—Indian students will be interested to read the first paper in this issue by N. D. Mironov on the *Nyâyapraveśa* of Dignâga, the Sanskrit text of which he essays to edit and reconstruct from two manuscripts in the Deccan College, Poona, which contain Haribhadra's continuous commentary but only about one-fifth of the *mûla*. The task of reconstructing the text from the *pratîkas* of the commentary has been performed with the assistance of the Tibetan and Chinese versions, which have been compared word by word through the collaboration of Prof. S. Yamaguchi. The result of this collation has been, we are told, that "the overwhelming majority of instances clearly showed the identity of the work"; yet not a few passages are different, and it may be assumed that the Sanskrit text used by Haribhadra differed in some respects from that used by Hsüan-tsang and from that used by the Tibetan translators. As regards the identity of the author, specific reasons are noted for holding that Haribhadra at any rate regarded Dignâga as the author, thus supporting the Tibetan tradition.

Le Monde Oriental, vol. XXV, Fasc. 1-3 (1931).—This *festschrift* volume (dedicated to Prof. K. V. Zetterstéen) opens with an article in German by Prof. Jarl Charpentier entitled "Indra: ein Versuch der Aufklärung," in which he deals with the origin of the name Indra. The etymology of this name seems to have exercised the minds of scholars from very early times, as Yâska gives some eleven derivations. Max Müller took Indra to be the Indian rain-god, and connected the name with the Sanskrit *indu*, a 'drop'; and other Sanskritists have accepted that view. Bergaigne thought it was most likely derived from the root *indh*, to 'burn,' as the bright, burning drop of the *soma*. Jacobi, on the other hand, made the novel and interesting suggestion that the conjunct *ndr* appearing at times in later Sanskrit was formed from an earlier *nr*; and so Indra might possibly be explained as from an older *in-ra*. Kretschmer has pointed out that in the treaty between the Hittite king Subbiluliuma and the Mitani ruler Mattiuaza names of gods are mentioned which have been identified with the Indian gods Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra and the Nâsatyas, the first of which was called Aruna by the Mitani, and Uruwana by the Hittite. Kretschmer took this to be the god of the sea (*arunas* being the Hittite for 'sea'), and the Hittite god Inar (Inaras, etc.) to be Indra. After an exhaustive survey of the suggestions made by a number of scholars, Prof. Charpentier comes to the conclusion that the gods of Boghaz-Kōi are neither Indian, as Jacobi and Konow have thought, nor Indo-Irânian, as Edward Meyer believed, but simply ancient Irânian. In agreement with Dr. L. D. Barnett, he considers that Indra was originally a human being, who became deified as the great protagonist of the warrior (*râjanya*) class. He throws out a suggestion that Indra might be explained as from a *ənro*, which would represent a thematic evolution from an athematic **ner*, **nr*. In Greek (ἀνήρ, ἀνδρός), and in Armenian (*air, arn*) we find such forms with a prothetic vocal, *a*; and that in *indra* we have the same stem with a prothetic *i* cannot be described as difficult from the phonetic point of view. The suggestion is made with every reserve, and the Professor even adds that "the riddle of Indra is unsolved." Perhaps it is insoluble in the present state of our knowledge.

Archæologische Mitteilungen aus Iran, Band IV, Heft 1 (Oct. 1931).—This number of the *Mitteilungen* contains an article by Dr. Ernst Herzfeld of much value from an historical and geographical, if not from a philological, point of view entitled "Sakastan: Historical Researches on the Excavations at Kôh-i-Khwâja" (in Sistân). In it a great mass of references to the Sakas and Sakastân culled from Chinese, Irânian, classical and other sources has been collated and marshalled with a view to elucidating the nomenclature referring to the province and tracing the wanderings of the people who eventually gave it their name. The article is divided into four sections: (1) Zranka and Sakastân, in which the various names are set forth and explained; (2) The Sakas up to the time of Alexander, based upon references in inscriptions, ancient texts, Herodotus, Hecatæus, etc.; (3) The Wandering of the Sakas, dealing with (*a*) the Chinese sources, their dates and value; (*b*) the push that started them on their migration; (*c*) their starting point, which is shown to have been *Wu-sun*, or Farghana; (*d*) the region where their wanderings ended, which was *Ki-pin* (Arachosia, or modern Sistân); (*e*) their encounter with the Parthians (in Ariana); and finally (*f*) their settling down under Mithridates II. The identification of *Wu-sun* with Farghana and of *Ki-pin* with Arachosia is important, as even in the

Cambridge H. of I., 1922 (vol. I, pp. 565, 567) these regions were equated with Kulja and Kapiśa respectively. We think Dr. Herzfeld has considerably added to our understanding of the movements of these people. He has also provided two rough, but very useful, sketch maps to illustrate his findings.

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, vol. LXI, Jan.-June, 1931.—Besides the important presidential address delivered by Prof. J. L. Myres on "Anthropology, pure and applied," this issue contains many papers of wide anthropological interest, all well illustrated. Readers of the *Indian Antiquary*, however, will be chiefly attracted by a lengthy report (running to some 70 pages) by Messrs. L. H. Dudley Buxton and D. Talbot Rice on "The Human Remains found at Kish." After presenting very fully the anthropometric details of the skulls so far recovered, the question of ethnic relations between India and Mesopotamia is discussed at some length in view of the cultural connexions that have already been established. Reference is made to the late Dr. Hall's suggestion that the Sumerian sculptures represented a Dravidian type. The evidence on this point so far available does not appear to be decisive. Though the basal population in India as at Kish be entirely long-headed, and though there do seem to be an essential similarity between the Dravidians and the people of Mesopotamia, yet the authors consider that "the undoubted cultural relationship in early Sumerian times is probably not to be associated with a physical connexion." Summarising the present evidence, scanty as it is, they think it suggests "a remote physical connection with India and a more recent cultural connection, but this latter connection goes back to the dawn of history." The grounds on which these opinions are based are clearly set forth; but they cannot be even summarised here: the report should be read. The fact seems to be that the Indian evidence is still insufficient to permit of any very definite conclusions being drawn from cranial measurements.

Antiquity, vol. V, No. 20 (Dec. 1931) contains a very interesting paper on "Further Links between Ancient Sind, Sumer and elsewhere" by Mr. Ernest Mackay, in which he draws attention to many striking resemblances and similarities between objects and designs found at Mohenjo-daro and others recovered from early strata at Kish, Ur, in Egypt and elsewhere. The evidence, in his opinion, indicates beyond question "that the upper occupations at Mohenjo-daro are contemporary with the earlier ones of Ur and Kish. This conclusion is of much importance, more especially in view of the discovery by Mr. N. G. Majumdar of remains from a still earlier stratum near Amri station in Sind (see *India in 1929-30*, p. 353), in regard to which details are anxiously awaited.

Royal Society of Arts.—In the course of a very instructive paper read before this society on the 13th Nov. 1931 by Lt.-Col. M. L. Ferrar, C.S.I., C.I.E., late Chief Commr. of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, on the penal system in force, a high tribute, readers of this journal will be glad to know, was paid to the work of the late Sir R. C. Temple, Bt., in the islands. "In Port Blair," said Col. Ferrar, "which he left nearly thirty years ago, he is remembered as a great and humane administrator, proud of his charge, and full of kindness to all who merited it. His name cannot soon be forgotten there."

C. E. A. W. O.

BOOK-NOTICES.

Archæological Survey of India: Annual Report for the Year 1926-27, edited by Sir J. Marshall, C.I.E. 13 × 10 in.; pp. xix + 249; 48 plates. Calcutta: Government Press, 1930.

This volume has been edited by Sir John Marshall, and contains two important contributions from his pen, namely, (1) an introduction in which he raises publicly the question whether the time has not arrived for allowing non-official agencies, either Indian or foreign, to co-operate with the Government of India in the task of excavation, and (2) a short survey of the "Indus culture," in which he summarizes the main features of the previous five years' work at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa from their historic and cultural points of view. To those who have not been in touch with the march of events during the past four or five years, the views expressed in the introduction may perhaps come as a surprise; but there can be no question that it is high time that steps were taken to bring the work of archæological exploration in India more into line with the arrangements that have proved satisfactory in Egypt, Mesopotamia and Palestine, and it is to be hoped that the necessary legislation, which, we understand, has already been formulated, will be carried through. It is obviously in the interest of archæological and historical research, and in the interest of India herself, that her unequalled wealth of antiquarian remains should be more fully disclosed to the world. The task is not only beyond the capacity of the staff of the department, but beyond the financial resources of the Government of India. The thought may occur to many that steps towards this end might have been taken at an earlier stage.

In his résumé of the results (up to 1927) of the explorations at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, Sir John suggests certain conclusions, which, though they may be liable to modification hereafter, are at least of interest. The structural remains at Mohenjo-daro tend to confirm the impression that the amenities of life enjoyed by the average citizen were far in advance of anything to be found at that time in Babylonia or on the banks of the Nile. With the progress of excavation "it has become

evident that the connection with Mesopotamia was due, not to actual identity of culture, but to intimate commercial or other intercourse between the two countries. For this reason the term 'Indo-Sumerian' has now been discarded, and 'Indus' adopted in its place." It may prove that the latter term unduly circumscribes this culture, the extent of which is yet uncertain, though Sir Aurel Stein's rapid survey in Khârân and Makrân, and the more recent finds at Kotla Nihang, not far from the Sutlej-Jumna watershed, would clearly indicate that it was widespread.

Sir John, for reasons explained, confidently fixes the date of the three latest cities at Mohenjo-daro as falling between 3500 and 2500 B.C. To what date the earlier cities must be ascribed is still a matter of conjecture. In this connexion we may refer here to the discoveries recently made by Mr. N. G. Majumdar at Amri in Sind, where trial excavations brought to light remains (in stone) of two strata of occupation, the upper of which yielded painted pottery and other relics akin to those from Mohenjo-daro, while from the lower stratum, imbedded in Indus silt, was recovered a type of thin painted ware of entirely different fabric and ornament, resembling pottery from Balûchistân and Sistân. The pottery recovered from these ancient sites calls for special and detailed study. The red and black ware found at Mohenjo-daro was found in abundance by Sir A. Stein in the Zhob basin and in Wazîristân; and Sir John considers that "some of the ceramic shapes and ornamental patterns both at this site and at Harappa betoken a connection with Elam and Mesopotamia as well as with Balûchistân." The remains of pottery since found by Sir Aurel at numerous sites in southern Balûchistân (Makrân, etc.), and that recovered by Mr. Majumdar from the lower stratum at Amri in Sind give rise to further speculation.

The year 1926-27 yielded a fertile harvest of antiquities in widely-separated areas. At Sirkap was recovered a unique hoard of silver plate and gold and silver jewellery of the Scytho-Parthian age, a number of which bear short records in Kharoṣṭhî script giving the name of their owner and their value. The Nâlandâ site, near Bihâr, has yielded new treasures, and the Bulandî Bâgh site, at Patna, fresh facts regarding the wooden walls of Pâṭaliputra. At Pahârpur, in northern Bengal, fresh sculptures, partly Buddhistic and partly Brahmanical, were revealed. At Nâgârjunikoṇḍa in the Guntûr district, and at Alluru and Gummadidurru in the Kistna district important discoveries of Buddhist monuments were made, which, together with the Aśokan inscriptions lately found at Erragudi and Kopbal, afford further evidence of the wide influence of Buddhism in the basin of the Kistna in early times. In Burma, too, in the vicinity of Hmawza (Old Prome) numerous finds of great interest were made by M. Duroiselle, among others that of a perfectly preserved relic chamber of a *stûpa* of the sixth-seventh century A.D., containing a wonderful collection of votive offerings. The retirement of M. Duroiselle, whose acquaintance with the sites of archæological interest in Burma is unique, will be felt as a great loss to the department.

C. E. A. W. O.

THE CREDIT OF MEGASTHENES.

MEGASTHENES EN DE INDISCHE MAATSCHAPPIJ. By Barbara C. J. Timmer. 9¼ × 6 inches, 322 pp., chart. Amsterdam, H. J. Paris, 1930.

This is a thesis for an Amsterdam doctorate, and bears the marks of its origin,—in places perhaps somewhat academical, but thorough, precise and fully documented. The author sets out to enquire how far Megasthenes' description of India is to be trusted; less than 50 pages suffice for the preliminary discussion, while nearly 250 are occupied by minute critical examination of particular fragments, six by a statement of conclusions, and ten by an abstract in German, which will be convenient for students ignorant of Dutch. The conclusions reached may be summarised as follows. The only direct sources for Megasthenes' lost work are Strabo, Arrian and Diodorus; his language is preserved most closely by the first and last, while on the whole Strabo is the best source for his substance. Comparison with Indian sources for the period indicates that Megasthenes was a competent and unprejudiced observer, but an uncritical reporter of what he was told, apt to record theories as facts, to generalise from particular instances, and to rely unduly on his informants, who were probably in all cases Brahman. In discussing concrete historical questions, he is always suggestive, but can never be decisive. How far these conclusions are sound is a question that could be answered only by a reviewer at least as familiar as the author with the literature of the subject. I can claim no such authority, and will say only that, in the case of those fragments of Megasthenes which I had previously studied, the conclusions drawn by the author appear to me to be generally reasonable and well-founded, while the discussions are in all cases enlightening, and are entitled to serious consideration, even if one is occasionally doubtful regarding the result. The book has therefore claims on all students of the period, while—though this is not new—it should stand as a warning to popular writers not to quote detached phrases from Megasthenes as if they were conclusive.

W. H. M.

PAÑCHAVÂRA-VÂRIYAM.

BY RAO BAHADUR DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., PH.D., M.R.A.S., F.R.HIST.S., F.A.S.B.

THE term *pañchavâra vâriyam* is frequently met with in South Indian inscriptions. It generally occurs among the various assemblies, big and small, which went to constitute the government of rural divisions in Tamil India. From the contexts in which the term occurs, and from association with terms of similar application, it is generally translated as '*Pañchavâram* Committee,' a confession that the *pañchavâram* part of the term is not understood, perhaps not even understandable. The term 'committee' as the equivalent of *vâriyam* we shall discuss presently. The largest number of these committees that happen to be mentioned together occurs in No. 156 of volume III of the *South Indian Inscriptions*, at Tirupârkadal in the North Arcot district. The assemblies mentioned are the following :—

(1) Samvatsara vâriyam ;
(2) Tôṭṭa vâriyam ;
(3) Êri vâriyam ;
(4) Kaḷani vâriyam ;
(5) Pañchavâra vâriyam ;
(6) Kaṇakku vâriyam ;
(7) Kaliṅgu vâriyam ;
(8) Taḍivaḷi vâriyam.

Among these are included the great people of Śrî Vaḍavîra Nâraṇam, and following these are the Bhaṭṭas. All these, together with other citizens, constituted the *Mahâ-sabhâ*, or the great assembly, of the village, and the meeting under reference also contained the governor of the village, Pallavan Brahmâda Araiyan, and the superintendent, Arumbâ Kiḻân.

In this recital, it will be seen, there are two classes of people referred to, viz., (1) the *Bhaṭṭas* or learned Brâhmaṇs, a group by itself, and (2) the great ones of Śrî Vaḍavîra Nâraṇam, which would simply mean the inhabitants, or the residents, of the part or ward of the town which went by the name Vaḍavîra Nâraṇam. In these two cases, apparently, it is the whole body of the people concerned that are under reference. In the case of the other eight, it seems to be that the bodies were constituted, as usual, by a process of lot and election combined, for various purposes. The first one was entrusted with the general management of the affairs of the village for the year. The second, similarly, had the management of the gardens of the village ; the third, the irrigation tanks ; the fourth, the fields ; the fifth is the *pañchavâra-vâriyam* ; the sixth had the management of the accounts of the village ; the seventh, of the sluices ; and the eighth was the *taḍi vaḷi vâriyam*, which ought to be translated as the Roads Committee, but is rendered as the 'great men of the field supervision.' This seems inappropriate, as there is the *kaḷani-vâriyam* for the fields, whereas *vaḷi* would mean 'the way,' and *taḍi vaḷi* perhaps stands for 'straight roads,' as they are usually stated to be of a width of so many rods (*taḍi*).

From this recital it becomes clear that the common affix to these terms, *vâriyam*, has a meaning as in the similar very familiar Tamil compound *vâśivâriyan*, *vâśivâriyan* being the equivalent of the Sanskrit *aśvadamanaka*, one who trains and controls horses, or, in one word, trainer. So it would be safe to translate the term *vâriyam* by the English general term 'management.' The *pañchavâra-vâriyam* therefore must be a committee appointed for the management of something on the analogy of the other seven, of which, as we see, the first constituted the general management for the year, whereas the other six committees are committees appointed for the management of particular branches of administration.

The term *vâriyam* however has another significance, which ought to be noted here, namely, 'president' or 'chairman.' In the 'circular-inscriptions' issued by Parântaka laying down the regulations for the election and constitution of the bodies composing the government of a village, the circular is said to have been presented to the assembly or the *sabhâ* of the village of Uttaramêrûr by a divisional officer of consequence, who is said in the inscriptions to have acted as the *vâriyam* (*vâriyam âha*). The Government Epigraphist of the day, the late Rai Bahadur Venkayya, translated the words in the *A.S.R.* for the year 1904-05 (where he has translated the two important documents) as 'the local governor being

present'. He has also doubtingly suggested, "and convening?" *Vâriyam âha* cannot be explained as denoting mere presence, having regard to the general significance of the term *vâriyam* indicated above. viz., that of management. In those two documents clearly the officer concerned was not merely present, but actually conducted the assembly as the representative of the king. He would therefore be one who presided over the assembly and managed the business by conducting the meeting satisfactorily. In the expression *pañchavâra-vâriyam*, therefore, the term *vâriyam* may stand for either a managing committee of a few, or an individual chairman who managed the business of a body.

In regard to *pañchavâra-vâriyam*, however, there must be a similar significance. In the same village are other records which refer to a few other bodies[1] like this. Of these, five are mentioned. There is a body or a committee for the supervision of *kuḍumbu* or, as it is translated, 'wards.' This is a new body, and there is a body of men looking after ascetics (*udâsînas*). This again is a new body. There is a body which is simply described as a body of 200. Nothing is added by way of explaining what the 200 stood for, and how that body of 200 came to be constituted. The other two mentioned are already found in the list above. So there are in all eleven such bodies, of which the *pañchavâra-vâriyam* is one.

This body is generally referred to, wherever it occurs, as the '*Pañchavâram* Committee,' and nothing further is stated as to what it might actually connote, or how that name came to be given to that body. There is one reference, however, which seems to give the clue to this. In connection with the measuring of grain, one comes across a reference to the *pañchavâram*-measure, which would indicate that the measures were subject to regulation by this *Pañchavâram* Committee. Perhaps from this the inference would be permissible that this committee had the supervision and regulation of such matters as measures, weights, etc., somewhat like a municipal corporation in these general functions. If that is so, it becomes clear that it is all the more important we should know what the *pañchavâram* was, and how it came to be constituted.

Pañcha, of course, may be translated as five, and probably it is five. Here, as in fact elsewhere, e.g., in the term *pañchâyat*, it seems loosely to stand for a body of five, though the specific significance of the number has been lost, and people speak, in these days, often of a single man constituting a *pañchâyat* in the sense of the Sanskrit term *madhyasta*, or an umpire. But what is the term *vâram*? This term occurs in other contexts, as pointed out by the late Professor Kielhorn, e.g., in the *Sîyaḍoni* inscription, where the term occurs several times in the compound *vâra-mukha* or *vâra-mukhya*. He refers also to the term *vâra-goshṭi* occurring in some of the Eastern Châḷukya grants, and has even attempted to identify the *vâra-goshṭi* with the *pañcha-vâram*, and going further, tried to identify the term *pañchavârîm*, occurring in the same inscriptions, with this *pañchavâram*.[2] But the term *vâram* in its general application, as in *vâra-mukha* or *-mukhya*, is nothing more than *gaṇa* (a 'group' or 'body'). The Sanskrit lexicon Vaijayanti gives the term *vâra* as a synonym of *gaṇa*,[3] which would mean a 'body,' and that seems the meaning in which the term occurs in *pañchavâra-vâriyam*. The term would then mean the managing bodies of five groups of people, thereby indicating that in the various committees and bodies in whom vested the administration of the rural area, there were five groups that constituted bodies of people, rather than committees of management consisting of a smaller number, the usual number being either six or twelve according to the character of the particular committee. Hence, the *pañchavâra-vâriyam*

[1] These additional bodies, and in fact some of the eight already quoted, are found in a number of records, of which it is only one or two that have been so far published. I examined the transcripts in the Epigraphist's office, through the courtesy of my friend, Mr. K. V. Subramania Aiyar, B.A., Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, who allowed me to examine the documents and read through them. I acknowledge his courtesy with pleasure and gratitude.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, No. 16 E; also note 7 on p. 138 of the same volume.

[3] *Vide* Oppert's Edition, p. 186.

would mean a body of management constituted out of five groups or bodies of people, for which we have the analogy of the 200 in the village, " the great men numbering 200," of one of these inscriptions ; and the Bhaṭṭas, who must have been numerous, the number of learned Brâhmaṇs in a village constituting a body by itself. Then for certain purposes there were the *ûrôm*, the inhabitants of the whole village, the *nâṭṭôm*, the representatives that constituted the government of the *nâḍu* or larger division, and the *nagarattâr*, or the citizens. It would be in ḳeeping with such a constitution as this that they should have the general management of the affairs of the village, such as the regulation of weights and measures, and other such matters of general administration. *Vâram*, therefore, seems a term used merely to indicate a group or body of people, the *pañchavâra-vâriyam* meaning as a whole, therefore, the management consisting of representatives of five groups of people.

There is evidence for this suggestion in the ordinary Tamil expression *aim perum kuḻu*, the *five great bodies* which formed one of the bodies of ministers, who ought to be consulted and whose advice had to be acted up to by the ruler. There are two such groups that are mentioned among those in immediate attendance upon the king, and they are the five great groups mentioned above, and the eight bodies who constituted the *parijanam*, the people in immediate attendance upon the king. The king's court consisted of these two bodies, of which the five that have been referred to above consisted of the *mahâjana* (people in general), *pârpâr* (Brâhmaṇs or Bhaṭṭas of the inscriptions), *maruttar* (physicians), *nimittar* (astrologers), and *amaichar* (ministers, the body that constituted the Council as a whole). Another definition of this group of five, recites among them the ministers, priests, commanders of the army, ambassadors and the body of spies. While the second interpretation would seem to me unsuitable for explaining *pañchavâra-vâriyam* as constituting a body in the governmental organisation of a rural unit, the first interpretation, or something analogous to it, seems legitimate, knowing as we do that the administration of a rural locality consisted actually of a certain number of committees of twelve or six members according to the character of the committee. While these smaller committees were intended for carrying on the actual administration, they had behind them larger bodies of people from whom they drew their authority ; and these bodies were divided into groups for definite purposes. These groups, among whom five were of general importance, such as the whole body of Brâhmaṇs or Bhaṭṭas, and the whole body of people other than Brâhmaṇs, might have been represented by committees, or even individuals, for certain purposes ; and the committees or the individual representatives of the five of these groups that were concerned with the administration as a whole, must have constituted the *pañchavâra-vâriyam* ; and they must therefore have had powers of general administration and control, which the reference to a '*pañchavâram* measure ' seems to indicate.

Before passing on, we ought to consider the suggestion made by Kielhorn on the basis of the Eastern Châḷukya grants. The whole of Kielhorn's position is contained in the note above referred to. The inscriptions refer to a family of learned Brâhmaṇs, whose children and grandchildren attained to such facility and excellence, even as boys, in speaking and recitation that they were held in reverence by the great people of the community. That is the general sense of the *śloka* which occurs in two variant forms in the two grants, in both of which the term *vâra-goshṭi* occurs. After drawing attention to the similarity between the two passages, Kielhorn remarks : " *Vâra* here and in *Pañcha Vârî* probably denotes the number of a committee ; the word occurs, by itself, and in *Vâra-Pramukha*, in an apparently similar sense in the Siyadoni inscription, *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. I, p. 173. The meaning of *Pañchavârî* is similar to that of the more common *Pañchakula*. Compare with it also the word *Pañchâli* in line 16 in the Nepalese inscription in the *Indian Antiquary*, Volume IX page 173."

The *ślokas* under reference are :—

1. *Yat putra pô(pau)tr(â) Vaṭavo Vâra gôshṭishu Vâgminaḥ* |
   Panchavârî(ṁ) samâpayya sampûjyantê mahâjanaiḥ || (8)
   (*Ep. Ind.*, V, 16 E.)

2. *Yat putra pautrâḥ paṭvô vaṭavô vâra gôshṭishu*
   Agrahârâgra(pû)j(ân)âm âpnavanti paramparâm (6).
   (*S. I. I.*, I, No. 37.)

The two *ślokas*, notwithstanding variety in expression, seem intended to convey the same meaning, and to refer to the same ceremonial excellence, which the particular family of Brâhmaṇs had attained by their extraordinary ability. While in the one record (the British Museum plates) occurs the expression *Pañchavârîm samâpayya sampûjyantê mahâjanaiḥ*, in the corresponding place in the other *śloka* occurs the expression *Agrahâra agrapûjânâm âpnavanti paramparâm.* The latter would simply mean that they became entitled to reverential treatment as the best, or the first, by the inhabitants of the Brâhmaṇ settlements. The sense of the former passage where the term *pañchavârî* occurs must be exactly the same. Panchavârî therefore seems to mean water given for five purposes : (1) water for washing one's hands, (2) water for washing one's feet, (3) water given after the guest had been seated to clean his hands, (4) water for the guest to sprinkle over himself, and (5) water to sip, a ceremonial presentation of water usually for very highly respected guests. This would be a kind of treatment included in the term *agra pûjâ*, respectful treatment as the first among the Brâhmaṇs. Therefore *pañchavârî* would mean merely water given for the five ablutions, and may be dismissed as having no analogy to the *pañchavâram.*

The other term to which Kielhorn's note makes reference is *vâra-gôshṭi.* It occurs in the context where the persons concerned exhibited capacity for expression, while yet they were bachelors undergoing education, in the *vâra-gôshṭi. Vâra-gôshṭi* may, therefore, simply mean an assembly of learned Brâhmaṇs. The exhibition of elocution is not made in mere general assemblies of Brâhmaṇs. They must have been made in assemblies of people who were acknowledged experts in the chanting and recital of the *Veda* and *Vaidic* texts. *Vâra-gôshṭi* probably there means the assembly of learned Brâhmaṇs for reciting the *Vedas*, where these young men exhibited excellence as the best reciters among them all. They had shown such proficiency that they were accorded the deferential treatment indicated in the following passage :—

Yad grihâ(thi ?) ti-pûja(yâm pâda pra)-kshâlanâmbasâ |
Ajiram karddhamîbhûtam punâty âsaptamam kulam ||
(*Ep. Ind.*, V, 16 E, p. 137.)

[Kielhorn's translation of *ślokas* 6-8 is given below for comparative reference :—

" His son, again, is Viddamayya, a student of the *kramapâṭa*, eminent in religious learning and full of manliness ; *whose hospitality purifies the family to the seventh generation* ; whose sons and grandsons, youths eloquent at *committee assemblies*, are honoured by the chief people who have made them *serve on the committee of five.*"]

That this was the actual meaning appears again from an analogous expression, though in an entirely secular context. The word *vâram* occurs in the sense of singing by turns. In Indian music, when an expert renders music, he goes a certain way in the performance, when an assistant or a collaborator takes it up by way of relief, and carries on for a considerable time. Then the expert takes it up again, to be again followed by the other. This method of affording relief to the principal performer is more necessary in the case of a dancing woman who sings while performing the dance. For this purpose dancing women, who were experts in their days, but who have grown too old for the work, are generally employed ; and these women take up the refrain and continue the singing. This practice is called in Tamil *vâram*

pâḍudal, the act of singing in turn. Exactly the same procedure is followed in *Veda* or *mantra* chanting: a passage is chanted by one set, is taken up by another, then resumed by the first batch, to be followed by the next, and so on.[4] This may be the *vâra*, or, in modern language, *santhe*, recital by turns. *Vâra-gôshṭi* may therefore mean special assemblies held for Vedic chants, and the reference to the excellence of these youths, while yet they were undergoing education, would be pointless unless it be that they showed such exceptional precocity or talent as to merit special commendation in an assembly of acknowledged experts. It is the sense of chanting alternately or singing by turn, that is implied by the component *vâram* in the term *têvâram*, the singing by turn in *gôshṭi* in the presence of God; *têvâram* being the name given to the Śaiva canonical poems of the 63 devotees, which the Śaivas chant nowadays in a body, though not exactly by turn like the chanters of the *Veda*. If this be the sense of the term *vâra* in *vâra-gôshṭi*, it would be something different from the word *vâra* in *pañchavâram*, or in *vâra pramukha*. *Vâram* in this context is nothing more than a *gaṇa* or body, and it is in that sense that we shall have to interpret the term in *pañchavâra-vâriyam*, the management or representatives of five bodies of people, whose functions lay in controlling the general affairs of a rural area.

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TO THE EDITOR, *Indian Antiquary*.

SIR,

Recently, in an article on the "Possible Origin of the Caste System in India," I made a suggestion (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. LX, p. 95), on the authority of a passage in the *Ambaṭṭa Sutta*, that the Aryans—the Kṣatriyas—reserved the highest place for themselves and gave the second place to the Brâhmaṇas. When I wrote my paper the above-mentioned passage seemed to me to be the only one in the Buddhist texts which said that the Kṣatriyas occupied a higher position than the Brâhmaṇas. Since my paper was published Mr. A. P. Gomes. B.Sc. (Lond.), has written to me (letter dated 8-9-31, Holy Cross College, Kalutara, Ceylon) to say that "in Ceylon for over 2500 years the caste that has been recognised as the first is the Kshetriya. Brahmana has always been given second place. The kings of Ceylon always claimed descent from the Chandra or Surya Wansé, that is North Indian Kshetriya descent." He has further sent me the following references and the order of the four different castes given therein:—(1) *Pubba Thupama Sutta* (Pâli):—"Kaththiyé, Brahmané, Vessé, Suddé." (2) Singhalese translation in *Saddharmâlankarya*:—"Raja, Bamunu, Velenda, Govi." (3) *Anguththera Nikaya* (Pâli):—"Kaththiya, Brahmana, Vessa, Sudda." (4) Sinhalese translation in *Pooja Valiya*:—"Raja, Bamunu, Velenda, Govi." Mr. Gomes expresses the opinion that there "must be many others like these in the Sinhalese and the Pâli books."

It seems to me, then, that I had overlooked several important texts—texts which are not easily obtainable to me so many thousand miles away from India—in support of my tentative theory of the magical origin of caste.

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4 Silappadhikâram III, ll. 136-37 and l. 153, and references in the following books.

OLD SITES ON THE LOWER INDUS.

BY G. E. L. CARTER, I.C.S. (*Retired.*)

Thambhanwâro Masjid and some other sites.

THAMBHANWÂRO[1] Masjid, the 'Mosque of the Pillars,' stands in the north-west of the Mîrpur Sakro taluqa of the Karachi district, about one mile north of the Vângo Creek, six miles north-east of Lâhorî Bandar (now nothing but a mud waste with a dilapidated city wall), and eight miles west by north of Râj Malik. I visited it in the spring of 1916 from a camp in Hingoro's village, making a round journey to Kherâni, Mâṛi Moṛâṛi and Thambhanwâro Masjid. The Survey of India 1 in.=1 mi. map of the area is mainly blank, and for my own information I filled in details of what I saw.

Fifteenth century[2] Râjput-Baloch cemeteries exist at Mâṛi Moṛâṛi, Daryâ Pîr and Pîr Muîuddîn. I would date the remains at Gungki and Kherâni as of the eighteenth century from the style of pottery and porcelain found there. Persian coins recovered at Mâṛi Moṛâṛi also establish a fifteenth century date.[3]

There is no trace now of a village site at Thambhanwâro Masjid. The 'masjid' consists of the lower courses of a rectangular building, with two large upright pillars flanking one who enters from the door in the eastern wall. Its external dimensions are 31 ft. 5¾ in. by 35 ft. 3¾ in. The walls are about 40 in. thick, and the doorway about 66 in. wide. I plotted the whole on the basis of a foot of 13·3 inches (the lesser Asiatic foot), giving external dimensions of 29^{A} by 32^{A}.[4] The walls are constructed of thin bricks laid flat in courses and cased in dressed stone, which had been tied by wedge-shaped ties ( ). There were two windows in the west wall, and two narrow doors in the south. In the centre of the north wall was a peculiar stone of a red, friable limestone,[5] running right through, but without any bond, as the dressed facing stones held it in on two sides. The windows had held stone lattices, pierced in quincunx cubes, as at Andhan jî Mâṛi (near Hilaya), of a not uncommon style. There is a recess in the west wall that could serve as a *mihrâb*, but it is obviously not part of the original plan. No trace of other pillars, or of foundations for them, could be seen.

The annexed photograph (see Plate II, fig. 2) gives all details now available as to the carving. Attention may be drawn to the common type of diamond pattern. It is not safe to assume, as Mr. Cousens does,[6] that the niches in the pillars formerly held images, though the craftsmanship is Hindu. In an area such as this delta is, it is equally unnecessary to assume that a town was at or near a temple or mosque: there is no town near the fine temple of Uderolâl.[7]

A few relevant matters may next be noticed.

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[1] For map, plan and views of the ruins, see Plates I and II. It is a local jest that the vernaculars of Sind vary in the pronunciation of the dental and cerebral letters. ٿنڀُ or ٿنڀو means a 'pillar' or 'post.' In deference to the dictionaries I spell the name Thambhanwâro; but the word, as I learnt it orally, is heavily accented on the first syllable, and *-bh-* pronounced as a simple *-b-*.

[2] Cousens, *Antiquities of Sind*, p. 164 f., assigns these cemeteries generally to the eighteenth century. From my own (unpublished) inquiries, I hold strongly that they are *generally* of the fifteenth century.

[3] Of a large hoard of coins found early in the present century, four only were preserved. I had these sent to the B.B.R.A.S. One was defaced. The others were reported as follows:—

Shâh Rukh	(1404–1447)	Mint Herât	828 A.H.
Ulugh Beg	(1447–1449)	Do.	852 A.H.
Abdullâh	(1449–1452)	Do.	defaced.

[4] Had I taken $28^{A} \times 32^{A}$ as correct, the proportions would have been more probable mathematically.

[5] So my notes run. I now wonder whether it was a partially decomposed trap, of which there are a few exposures in the Karachi district. The dressed stone was a uniform pale yellow (stone) colour, typical of the local limestone.

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 126.

[7] Taluqa Ghoṛâbâṛi, district Karachi.

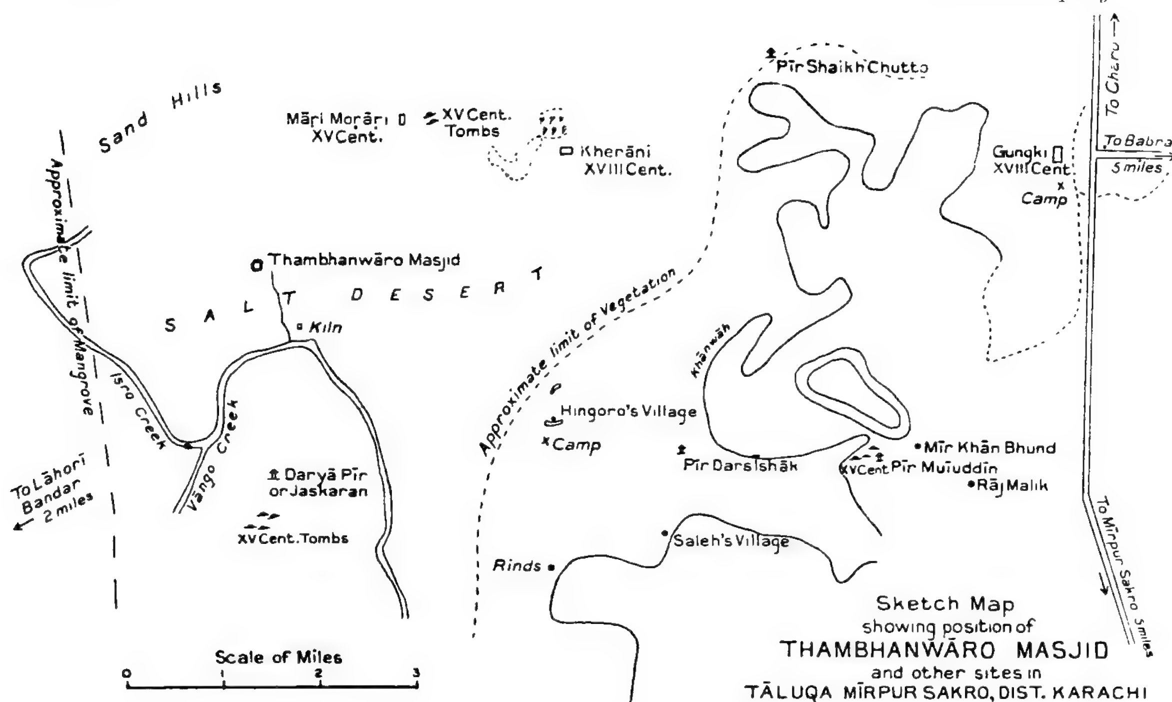
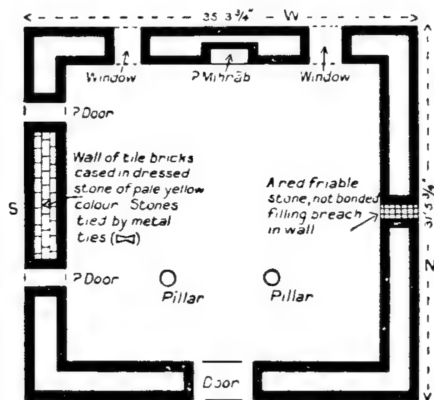


Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.



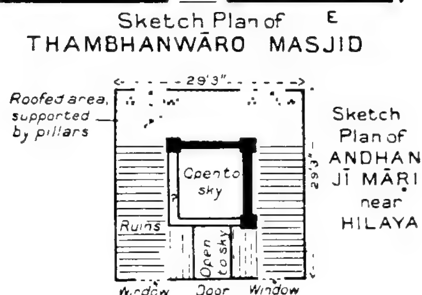
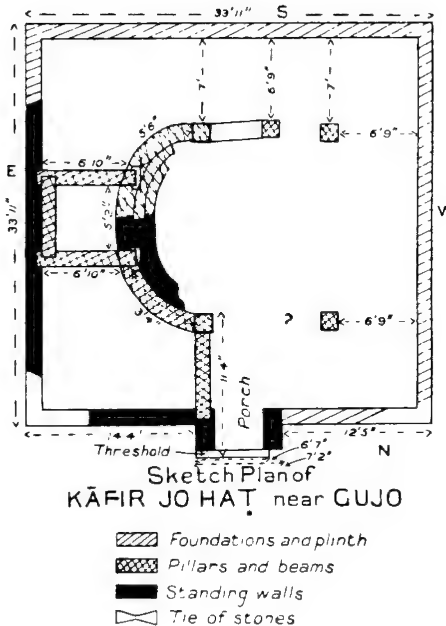


Fig. 4.

Fig. 3.







1. Tradition and lore.—Daryâ Pîr (the 'River Saint') in Tali Makân, two miles south of the *masjid*, probably marks the *aboriginal* holy spot of the region.[8] Musalmâns still go there on the 12th *urs* to worship, and Hindus (who call the saint Jaskaran) on the 1st Vaiśâkha, i.e., on the same day as Hindus also attend at the shrine of Pîr Patho.[9] A festival is held at the shrine in the month of Nâhari (=*Marg*, i.e., *Margaśira*). Daryâ Pîr is classed in my notes as a Sarmân (Buddhist) Pîr with Âdam Pîr of Sakro, Shaikh Sarmân of Nângwa, and a Sarmân Faqîr whose shrine is near the junction of the Karachi, Tatta and Mîrpur Sakro taluqas.

The red stone in the north wall of the *masjid* is obviously there because of its redness. Remember first the story told by Ibn Baṭûṭa, how the people of Sind used to prepare and eat the desert lizard, and how he himself could not manage it. It is now a matter of folklore that the people ceased to eat it when it left off living on trees and took to holes in the ground. The story of Mâî Gaṛhî (the 'Red Lady') turns entirely on the mystic virtues of eating the lizard.[10]

It is a commonplace of literate Muhammadans of Lower Sind that the old mosques have a second *mihrâb* in the *north* wall, directing attention to Multân,[11] in addition to the one on the west towards Mecca. The question seems to arise, therefore, whether the people of Sind (Hindu or Muslim) did not orient themselves in prayer, at some period of unorthodoxy, on Multân, as this red stone would lead them to do, with the further implication that the medieval Muslim revival deliberately masked this by encouraging a second *mihrâb*.

2. Other similar Buildings—

(*a*) About one mile west of Hilaya, where the road leading from Tatta northwards drops from the great limestone causeway which separates the Kinjhar lake from the Indus, stands a four-square stone building, measuring 29 ft. 3 in. on its four sides, known as Andhan jî Mâṛi. It was roofed, with a central square open to the sky. On the south-east side is a door and two small windows. In general it appears to have been copied from the Kâfir jo haṭ (the 'Infidel's shop').[12]

(*b*) The Kâfir jo haṭ (at Tharro near Gujo, taluqa Mîrpur Sakro) in plan is a square with a projecting entrance on the north. Inside was a colonnade with a central half-dome open to the sky. An area roofed with massive stone beams on the east, and a slight apse cut in the solid wall on the west complete the existing internal features. The pillars are partly octagonal on square bases. There is no carving except on the threshold. The walls are now dilapidated. Viewed from the inside, they are of dressed stone. The rough external face shows that it was a double wall, similar to that of Thambhanwâro Masjid. No mortar was used in its construction. Its measurements were based on a foot 13·5 inches long. The stones were tied as at the Masjid, the same kind of tie having evidently been used. In plan the building was a square, with sides measuring 33 ft. 11 in., but the colonnade was semicircular. The carving on the threshold consists of half-suns with diamond-shaped rays and other 'diamond' patterns. The temple—and there can be

[8] On the part played by the river in primitive Sindhî religion, see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XLVI (1917), p. 205, and vol. XLVII (1918), p. 197.

[9] For whom, see below, Note [23].

[10] Her shrine is north of Karachi.

[11] That town was more than once the inspiration of Sindhî thought. Hsüan tsang is one witness. The Tughlaqs tried to build a second Multân on the Makli hills; a large four-square hall is pointed out as built to accommodate 'Shaikhjî Multânî' there, about ¾ mile north of the dâk bungalow at Tatta. The monumental ruins of Tughlaqâbâd, about a mile to the south, have never, I believe, been reported.

[12] I am not sure that *haṭ* here does mean 'shop,' but I have always so translated it. For a plan of Andhan jî Mâṛi, see Plate I, fig. 4; for its doorway. Plate II, fig. 3.

little doubt that it was a temple originally—shows pronounced classical influence, and is probably the oldest of the three buildings of this class.[13]

3. **Geographical—**

(*a*) Travelling by boat at the mouths of the Indus is so difficult and so circuitous that little reliance can be placed on distance expressed in terms of a day's sailing.

(*b*) It is not safe to assume great changes in the extent of the delta: its age is geological. The delta is gaining on the sea, but the levels are such that a change of an inch a mile in the gradient would upset the whole of the present régime.

(*c*) Local changes were probably less rapid formerly than since the British occupation, since the floods of the *âbkalânî* [14] season could then spread themselves more freely over the country as a whole.

(*d*) It is doubtful whether Lâhorî Bandar could have been a place of greater *permanence* than Keti Bandar [15] is today, though its importance was as that of Karachi.

(*e*) The invocation to the river god is *Lahr-Bahr jâ sâin, mehrbânî de*! ("Lord of the water, grant a favour!") with dialectical variations in pronunciation ranging as far as Lôṛ-Bôṛ. Similar variations occur in the name Lâhorî Bandar.

Mr. Cousens assigns the Thambhanwâro Masjid to about the twelfth century. We ought, I think, to assign it to the stage of civilization anterior to the influence of the G͟haznavids and G͟horids. It is strongly Hindu in sentiment and execution. *If* it was for Muhammadan use, it must have been for that pale reflection of Islâm into which the first phase degenerated in Sind.

The site of the shrine of Daryâ Pîr is probably older than that of the *masjid*. Neither has any direct connexion with Lâhorî Bandar, which appeared to me in its present form[16]

[13] The island hill of Tharṛo, near Gujo, which contains this remarkable building is rich also in struck flints of a late date, bears the remains of a great walled city of an early date, and overlooks the tomb of Hâjî Abû Turâb (*ob.* 787 A.D., cp. Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 29). For reasons given in my paper on "Ptolemy's Map of Sind" in the *J. B. Anthropological Soc.*, Vol. XII (1923), p. 547, I identify the hill with Patala. In the same paper the geography of the delta is discussed in some detail. For plan and view, see Plate I, fig. 3, and Plate II, fig. 4.

[14] *Âbkalânî*, the flood season of April-August, due to (*a*) the melting of the snows in the Himâlaya and (*b*) the rains in the Panjâb during the monsoon.

[15] As recently as 1914-15 Keti Bandar was disturbed by the river eating into the town, and a new Keti Bandar was built close by.

[16] It closely resembles the town of Dhârejah in Deh Dundi, taluqa Mirpur Sakro, of a date not anterior to the seventeenth century, and possibly of the eighteenth. Looking up my MS. copy of the *Tuhfatu'l-kirâm* (1763 A.D.) and a translation which I had had made thereof, I find the following interesting information:—

(1) "Bandar Dhârejah. It is now made known that Bandar Lâhorî, which in ancient times was known as Bandar Debal, was a town of great renown inhabited by many learned and pious men. It is only a few years back that owing to the scarcity of water and vicissitudes of times the Bandar disappeared along with its hamlets and rural abodes. Whatever remained of habitations has gone out to Bandar Dhârejah, which was originally the native land and the chief town of the tribe called Nikâmirah."—This fixes the following dates: Lâhorî Bandar abandoned c. 1725 A.D.; Dhârejah built c. 1725 A.D. It explains also the similarity of the existing enclosing walls.

(2) "Shaikh Jhâryo. He is a saintly man of very ancient times, and lies buried on the hillock called Stam Takar [سقم , or perhaps اسقم, تكر], a resort of pilgrims." There is a story of his having been in Mekka as a sweeper of the holy places, to explain his name as 'Pîr of the Dusters.' In modern Sindhi, however, the name is pronounced Jhâṛeon, and there can be little doubt that the word is a feminine plural, meaning 'trees,' 'bushes.'

Query—Did this hill also bear one of the old "Thambhanwâro" temples? There is nothing there now but a curious Muhammadan shrine, where Hindus and Muslims eat together, and the footprint of the horse Dhur Dhur. The hill is about half way between Mîrpur Sakro and Tatta. Built into the present shrine are fragments of *old* carved stone, the capital of a pillar.

(3) "Mullâ Mauj Daryâ [موج دريا]. He lies buried on the bank of Shakar Ghat شكر گهاٹ near Bandar Lâharî, which was in ancient times known as Bandar Debal. Pious people visit his tomb. His descendants are called *Mullâyân*, and reside at Bandar Dhârejah."

This passage clearly shows that the *mujâwirs* were *then* claiming the tomb as 'ancestral.' Hindus still go there, if this is the same as Daryâ Pîr.

to have been a town of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Bandars move very freely to accommodate themselves to the shifting river. Though Lâhorî Bandar is more impressive with its earthen walls, Mâṛi Moṛâṛi is the most extensive town site in the whole area.[17]

In short, the cult of the River (Daryâ Pîr) and the simplicity of the architecture of the "Masjid" indicate that we have a genuine fusion of Hinduism and Islâm, which we may locate in that obscure period when the Arab dominion was passing away, after 871 A.D.[18]

Ibn Baṭûṭa, in the course of his travels in India, spent some five days (*circa* 1333-34 A.D.) at the then port of Lâhorî Bandar, which he describes as a fine place situated on the shore of the ocean, near to which the 'river of Sind' fell into the sea. I give below an extract from the account of his travels relating to this visit.

"I rode out one day in 'Alâu'l-mulk's company, and we reached a plain situated at a distance of seven miles (اميال) from Lâharî, and which was called Târnâ (تارنا). I there saw an incalculable number of stones resembling figures of men and animals. Many had undergone alteration, and the characters of the objects represented had been effaced. There remained only the figure of a head or a foot or other part of the body. Amongst the stones were some also that depicted grains—such as corn, chick-peas, beans and lentils. There were traces of a wall and of the side walls of houses. We then saw the remains of a building (or house, بيت), where there was a cell constructed of dressed stone, in the middle of which rose a platform (or dais), also of stone, cut with such precision that there appeared to be but a single piece of stone. On this platform was the figure of a man, but the head was much lengthened, the mouth on one side of the face, and the hands behind the back like those of a prisoner. One saw there pools of very stinking water. One of the partition walls bore an inscription in Indian characters. 'Alâu'l-mulk related to me that historians asserted that there had been at this place a considerable town, the inhabitants of which having committed many offences had been changed into stone, and that it was their king that appears on the platform in the building referred to. This house is also still called the residence of the king. It is averred that the inscription which is seen on one of the walls contains the date of the destruction of the inhabitants of this town, which occurred about 1000 years ago...."[19]

The name of the plain, Târnâ, is, I think, a misreading for Khâṛṛo.[20] Khâṛṛo is the generic word for the flat, salt wastes of the lower Indus delta, a region of mud and slime, and marked by cattle tracks. The weathered stones, depicting portions of limbs and grains of corn, were, I think, simply weathered fossiliferous limestone, of which the details become more clear when the cement matrix disappears. I have myself been shown the footprints of the great horse Dhur Dhur, and of several saints of the past.

From the complete absence of any other building like the Thambhanwâro Masjid in the whole neighbourhood (Kâfir jo haṭ is about 20 miles away), one may presume perhaps that this building of dressed stone was the one that Ibn Baṭûṭa mentions. There are no other remains there now, but it may have been that he saw traces of houses at Daryâ Pîr and *then* went on to Thambhanwâro, where he saw the "king's house." It may have been, too, that when Mâṛi Moṛâṛi was built, the ground around the 'Masjid' was stripped, this building being left as a valuable landmark. The description of the figure suggests that it was a panel bearing a profile which he saw[21]; he could not otherwise have mentioned the detail of the mouth in the side of the head. The elongation of the head possibly refers to the custom of enlarging the lobe of the ear. Not only are there the *kânphâṭîs*, but in the

[17] Unfortunately I did not visit Daryâ Pîr. There could have been no building there resembling Thambhanwâro Masjid; but the *chaukanḍî* tombs are evidence of a medieval town.

[18] I take this date from Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[19] Based upon Defrémery and Sanguinetti's translation.

[20] The Sindhî word *khâṛṛo* is a geographical term meaning the large salt mud deserts of the delta, slimy and marked by half-dried foot-marks of wandering animals. The ṛṛ is a heavy rolled guttural sound, for which ڙ is a conventional sign. Cp. the word *khaeṛṛ* given by Raverty in his *Pushtu Dictionary* as meaning 'muddy' or 'foul.'

[21] Panels are not uncommon, even in stone, though the profile is, in India.

complex story of Pîr Patho-Guru Gorakhnâth[22] (of Pîr Arr, a few miles south of Tatta), the Pîr-Guru made Guru Dayânâth his disciple by cutting his ear and putting an ivory ornament in it. Placing a black thread turban on his head, he sent him back to Dinodâr (Girnâr) in Cutch. In the same story there is reference to his magical possessions,—a bullock which filled its own *pakhâl*, a beggar's bowl which collected offerings, a rag rope which would bind a man, and a cudgel which would beat him. The story of men being changed into stones rings very true. At Jung Shâh's tomb (near Jungshâhî station) people still point to a large thin vertical slab of stone as having been Jung Shâh's camel. Along the edge of the Kohistân generally, other upright slabs may be found marking prehistoric sites. In one group of these, near the " altar " in the Mol valley, still stands a small dolmen ; other groups I have found in the foot-hills west of Kotri. Those in the Mol valley one could connect definitively with a primitive fire dance in honour of Vetâl and with Buddhist customs (" if you go there at midday or after dark, the ghosts will throw lighted torches at you "). The tales reported by Ibn Batûta had been transmuted ere ever he came there, and what better form could a tale take than to point an Islamic moral : even Hsüan-tsang says the Sindhî loved a wondrous tale.

No such stones now remain at or near Thambhanwâro Masjid—but once more one may point to the large strange stone embedded in the north wall.

The building was clearly not reconstructed by Muhammadans. The *mihrâb*, the recess in the west wall, is no part of the essential structure of the building. It is thus extremely probable that this was the building shown to Ibn Batûta as the " king's house," and that it was after he visited the place, after Mâri Morâri was built, that the central dais was removed. Whether this ' cell ' of dressed stone was then converted into a mosque by the fashioning of the *mihrâb*, whether that had happened on some previous occasion, whether the whole was originally built as a temple or unorthodox Muslim place of prayer, is hard to determine now. It is significant that the Andhan jî Mâri, which is not oriented correctly, was never supplied with a *mihrâb*.

In all probability, then, the building was originally a temple for a very restrained type of Hinduism (such as the worship of the river god). It certainly always looked like a temple (*deul*, i.e., *devâlaya*), and assuming there was no village around it, it would, in so featureless a country as the delta of the Indus, be a notable landmark for miles around, worthy of preservation, even by Muslims, as an object of utility, and verily, as Ibn Batûta shows us, an object lesson.

[22] The cult of Pîr Patho embodies Buddhist, Hindu and Islamic lore, and represents now part of the Multânî revival. In the *Tuhfatu'l-kirâm* Pîr Patho is called Shaikh Patho *deolî*. One story mentions his settlement at Pîr Arr in 547 A.H. (1152 A.D.) and another that he died in 606 A.H. (1209 A.D.). Yet he is also equated with a pre-Islamic Râja Gopichand of Sehwân, of whom a purely Buddhist story of a great renunciation is told.

Two miles east of Gharo is an isolated hill known as Pîr Patho's hill, and between Karachi and Son Miânî is yet another ' place ' of Pîr Patho-Râja Gopichand. The geography of the cult indicates an interesting coastal ramification.

NOTES ON HOBSON-JOBSON.

BY PROFESSOR S. H. HODIVALA, M.A.

(*Continued from page 34.*)

Shampoo.—There is a good description of this process of "kneading and pressing the muscles" in Terry, but the Indian word is first used by Mundy.

[1632.] "The Barbers of this place [Etâwa] are much spoken of for their neatenesse in Shaveinge and artificiall *champinge*. The latter is a kinde of Custome used all India over, att tyme of rest especiallye, which is to have their bodies handled as wee knead in England, but this is with gripeing their hands; and soe they will goe all over a mans body as hee lyes along, *vizt.* Armes, shoulders, back, thighes, leggs, feete and hands."—*Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Sir R. Temple, II, 86.

Shireenbâf.—This word occurs in Barnî's *Târîkh-i-Fîrûzshâhî* in the list of the prices of commodities as fixed by Sulṭân 'Alâu' d-dîn Khaljî. We are informed that the best, middling and inferior (مهين ميانه و كمينه) varieties of *shîrînbâft* (شيرين بافت) were valued at five, three and two *tangas* [per piece].—Text, 310, ll. 8-9. In the corresponding passages of their own histories, Niẓâmu'd-dîn Aḥmad and Firishta, who have merely abridged Barnî, and frequently transcribed whole sentences, have altered the word to سرى باف (*Tabaqât-i-Akbarî*, text, 79, l. 11), and سرى صاف (*Târîkh-i-Firishta*, text, I, 113, l. 5). This probably indicates that the form *shîrînbâft* had become obsolete and its place taken by *sirîbâf* or *sirîṣâf*. And we find that سرى صاف (*sirîṣâf*) was the name by which the fabric is mentioned by Abul Faẓl (*Âîn*, trans. Blochmann, I, 94, 617; Jarrett, II, 223).

Fryer's 'Serribaff' must be this *sirîṣâf*, which seems to have been synonymous with the *sirîbâf* of Niẓâmu' d-dîn. In the second quotation from Fryer, 'Siring chintz' is mentioned as if it were identical with that author's 'Serribaf,' but 'Siring' is more probably Abul Faẓl's 'Sihrang,' 'three colours.'—(*Âîn*, trans. I, 94.) 'Siring chintz' may have been chintz printed in three colours, or perhaps 'chintz used for the *sarong*,' the body-cloth or long kilt, "which forms the chief article of dress of the Malays and Javanese" (*Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed., p. 796).

Shoegoose.—[*c.* 1595.] "His Majesty [Akbar] is very fond of using this plucky little animal [*scil.* the *siyâhgosh*] for hunting purposes. In former times it would attack a hare or a fox; but now it kills black deer."—*Âîn-i-Akbarî*, trans. Blochmann, I, 290. Blochmann says in a note that the Persian name is a translation of the Turkish *qara-qolaq* ['black ear'] whence our *Felis caracal*.—*Ibid.*, note.

[1632.] Peter Mundy also mentions the animal as 'Shawgose.' (*Travels*, II, 307.) Sir Richard Temple says it is properly *shâhgawaz*, and is a common name in Bengal for the *sâmbar*, but he does not mention any authority for the statement.

Manucci writes:

[*c.* 1700.] "Also in the Mogul country, they hunt them [cranes, *kulіng*] in another way. There is a kind of animal like a large cat called *Xagox*—that is Royal Ear. Their colour is grey, and their ears larger than those of the cat, having at the tips some rather long hairs, black in colour."—*Storia do Mogor*, trans. Irvine, III, 90, and note, where Mr. Irvine identifies it with the 'Siyâh-gosh' and says it is 'an animal of the panther kind, a lynx.' See also *ibid.*, IV, 429.

Siam.—In a note on the quotation from Barbosa, Sir Henry says that "it is difficult to interpret the form 'Anseam' used by that writer, which is found also in C. Federici in the form Asion. Mr. Dames suggests that just as 'Ârâkân' is formed by prefixing the Arabic particle *Al* to Râkhang (Al Râkhang, Ar-Râkhang, Arâkân), so 'Anseam' is السيام, Alsiam, Assiyam (Anseam).—*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, II, 162, note.

Singara.—The earliest illustration from an English writer which Mr. Crooke could add in the second edition is of 1798, but the fruit had been named and described much earlier by Finch:—[1608-11.] "The herbe which beareth the hermodactyle is a weed abounding in most

tankes neare Agra . . . . the fruit is inclosed with a three cornered shell of a hard woodie substance, having at each angle a sharpe picked pricking point and is a little indented on both the flat sides like two posternes. The fruit, being greene, is soft and tender, white, and of a mealish taste, much eaten in India, being exceeding cold in my judgement, for alwayes after it I desired aqua-vitae. It is called by the people *Singarra.*"—*Early Travels in India*, ed. Foster, p. 150. De Laet has a similar account, but it is hardly worth quoting, as he has borrowed it from Finch.—(*De Imperio*, trans. Hoyland, p. 44.)

Siwalik.—The learned authors stoutly deny that this name is derived from *sawâlâkh*, 'one lakh and a quarter,' and say that this etymology is absolutely valueless. As they admit "that the special application of the term to the detached sub-Himalayan range is quite modern," the latter does not enter into the discussion, and the question is confined to the earliest and primary sense of the toponym, viz., the territory to the west of the Aravalli Hills and including Nâgor and Mandâwar. Now a reference to Dr. Bhagvânlâl Indrajî's *History of Gujarât* (*Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Pt. i, 157) shows that this identical territory is called *Sapâdalaksha* by the Jain chroniclers :—

"The Ajmer kings were '*Sapâdlaksha.*' Why they were so called is not known. This much is certain that *Sapâdlaksha* is the Sanskrit form of the modern Sewalik. It would seem that the Chohâns whom the Gujarat Jain chroniclers call 'Sapâdlakshiya' must have come to Gujarat from the Sewâlik hills." It is fairly well known to Indian archæologists that the names of many districts or territorial divisions in this country are associated with certain numbers, e.g., Salsette *Shâshasti*, 'sixty-six' (*Hobson-Jobson*, 786). *Tiswâdi*, 'Thirty'—and others (*q.v.* Fleet, Kanarese Districts, in *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, ii, 403, 431). The rationale of the association has not been determined by scholars,[7] but there can be no doubt about the fact, and *Sapâdlakshya—Siwâlik*—may be reasonably supposed to be an instance of this kind of nomenclature.

Sumpitan.—The earliest example quoted by Mr. Crooke is from Herbert [*c.* 1630], but there is a description of the thing, without the name, in the *Journal* of John Jourdain.

[1613.] "The Kinge is . . . . very severe in justice towards his owne nation. Yf any offend and hath deserved death, he is brought before him, and with a truncke the Kinge will shute him with a little poysonned arrowe. If he will have him live halfe an houre . . . . he will shute him in the arme or legge, butt if hee will have him dye presentlie he will shute him in the breast neere the harte, and then he falleth downe presentlie before him."—*Op.cit.*, ed. Foster, p. 295.

Surat.—"Surat is not a place," Sir Henry writes, "of any antiquity. There are some traces of the existence of the name ascribed to the fourteenth century, in passages of uncertain value in certain native writers." Yule's earliest quotation refers to 1510. Whatever the case may be as regards the fourteenth century, it seems fairly certain that Surat did exist and was a place of some note in the fifteenth. I beg permission to quote the following evidence, which I believe is mostly new. In his account of the reign of Sulṭân Aḥmad Shâh of Gujarât, the author of the *Mirât-i-Sikandarî* (*circa* 1611 A.C.) writes :

[*c.* 1410.] "Módúd, son of Fíróz Khán went to Khambáiat. Then he was joined by Shékh Malik, entitled 'Mastî' Khán, son of Sultán Muzaffar, who was Governor of Súrat and Rạnér. When the Sultán went against them, they left Khambáiat and went to Bharúj [Broach]. He pursued them thither and invested the place."—Bayley's translation, p. 89.

Again, Fiṛishta has the following mention of the town in his history of the reign of Sulṭân Maḥmûd Khaljî I of Mâlwâ (1435-1469 A.C.).

[1452.] "It is worthy of remark that Sooltan Mahmood, never experienced a defeat before, or afterwards, during his reign, His son, Gheias-ood-Deen, with the right wing of the

[7] For the most probable explanation of these numerical designations, see Prân Nâth, *A Study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India*, Roy. Asiatic Society Monographs, vol. XX (1929), pp. 23-39. For Sawâlik, see *ibid.*, p. 37.—C. E. A. W. O., JOINT-EDITOR.

army fled to Surat, where he plundered the country, and returned to Mando by the same route he came [that is, Nundoorbar, Talnere and Sindwa]."—Briggs' *Ferishtah*, IV, 218; also Lucknow lith., II, 250, l. 12; see also *Ṭabaqât-i-Akbarî*, Lucknow lith., p. 555, l. 15.

[1478.] Besides these allusions, the town is explicitly mentioned in a letter addressed to the Pârsîs of Gujarât by their Zoroastrian brethren in Persia in the Yazdajardi year 847 = 1478 A.D.—Hodivâlâ, *Studies in Pârsî History*, pp. 279-280.

Surwaun. [*c.* 1626.] "The *Sarwân* or camel driver, looks to his camel."—Pelsaert, trans. Moreland, p. 62.

[1631.] See also de Laet, *De Imperio*, trans. Hoyland, p. 90, who speaks of them as 'Serriwani.'

Suttee.—The strange story quoted by Yule from Hamilton (1727) is found in Manucci, who asserts that he witnessed the incident himself at Râjmahâl in Bengal in 1663. (*Storia do Mogor*, trans. Irvine, II, 96.) Bowrey states that he saw a woman drag a Brâhman into the flames in a place about six miles above Hûglî about 1676. (*Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, ed. Temple, p. 204.) The two cases are of course different as regards time and also place. Hamilton merely says that he had heard the story.

Sweet Potato.—May I say that *shakarkand* does not mean 'sugar-candy' as the authors say, but 'sweet tuber'? *Kand* here is not the Arabic قند, but the Sanskrit *kanda*, (कंद), a bulbous or tuberous root. See Fallon's *Dictionary, s.v.* كند as well as شكر كند

Syce.—The word appears to have been in general use in the secondary sense of 'groom,' as early at least as the days of Akbar, as it is used in the *Âîn*, Book I, ch. 53. In his account of the officers and servants attached to the imperial stables, Abul Faẓl writes:—

[1595.] "11. The *Sâîs* or groom. There is one groom for every two horses." Blochmann's trans., I, 138. *Sâîs* (سائیس) occurs also in Badâonî (text, II, 205), where Lowe has left out the word in his version (trans., II, 208, l. 4); but Blochmann has translated it correctly as 'grooms.' *Âîn-i-Akbarî*, trans. (Note on the Ṣadrs of Akbar's Reign), I, 273; see also Elliot, *H. of I.*, V, 521. Richardson says سائیس means 'governor, controller a master of horse, an equerry, a groom, a public executioner.'—*Persian, Arabic and English Dictionary, s.v.*

Taj.—Mr. Crooke suggests that Tavernier's *Tasimacan*, which the latter describes as "a great Bazar or Market place comprised of six great courts, all encompass'd with porticos," must be a corruption of *Tâj-i-maqâm*, 'Place of the Taj.' I venture to suggest that the correct restoration is *Tâj-ganj*; witness Mundy:—

[1632.] "Hee [*scil.* Shâh Jahân] intends, as some thinck, to remove all the Cittie hither, cawseinge hills to be made levell because they might not hinder the prospect of it, places appoynted for streets, shopps, etts. dwellings, commaunding Marchants, shoppkeepers, Artificers to Inhabit [it] where they begin to repaire and called by her name *Tage Gunge*." —*Travels*, ed. Temple, II, 213-14.

[1648.] The word occurs also in *English Factories in India* (1646-50), p. 220, as 'Tadgundy,' where Sir William Foster points out that "from O. C. 2248 and references in O. C. 2071 to the 'Agra Tadgund or Basar' it would appear that this word represents the still existing Tâjganj, the village which sprang up around the Tâj Mahâl."—*Ibid.*, note.

Tangun.—The earliest quotation from an English author is of 1774, but this vernacular name of the 'Tibetan pony' occurs in Mundy's *Travels*:—

[1632.] "From beyond this place [Patna] to the Eastward are hither brought certen small horses called Goonts or *Tangans*, which are of the same repute heere in India as our Cornish Naggs are with us in England, ... full of metall, hard bredd, and of great endurance."—*Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Temple, II, 136.

Talipot.—The tree as well as the custom of using its leaves "for writing upon instead of paper" is mentioned by Albîrûnî.

[*c.* 1030.] " The Hindus have in the south of their country a slender tree like the date and cocoa-nut palms, bearing edible fruits and leaves of the length of one yard, and as broad as three fingers, one put beside the other. They call these leaves *târî* . . . . and write on them. They bind a book of these together by a cord on which they are arranged, the cord going through all the leaves by a hole in the middle of each."—Albîrûnî's *India*, trans. Sachau. I, 171.

Tashreef.—The following is an earlier use of the term than any quoted by Yule :—

[1633.] " Those Portinggalls whilome exspelled Hugly hath found greate favour with Shawgahan, and reentered the place to the number of 20 persones; hows cavidall [capital] for their commensing a new investment is the third part of there goods formerly cessed on, which with large priveliges and *tashareefes* with honer the king hath bestowed on them."—*English Factories in India*, ed. Foster (1630-33), p. 308.

Thug.—In his edition of Tavernier, Ball proposed to identify that author's *Pauzecour* with ' Pariah ' or ' Phâusigar.' Mr. Crooke rightly says that this is inadmissible, and himself suggests that it stands for " Panchagauḍa, the five classes of Northern Brâhmans." But this ignores what Tavernier says about them. He declares that " they do not belong to either of the four castes [' Brahmins, Ketris, Banians and Soudra '—whom he names], that they all occupy themselves with mechanical arts, and do not differ from one another except by the different trades which they follow from father to son."—(Ball, II, 185.) The Panchgauḍa Brâhmans certainly do not follow mechanical trades, and none of them follows the tailor's calling, which Tavernier gives as an instance. I venture to suggest that the jeweller wrote or meant to write either ' Paunzelour ' or ' Paunzecoul,' that is ' Panchalar ' or ' Panchakula.' The ' Panchalars ' are " the chief of the left hand castes in Southern India, the five classes, workers in metal, stone, etc." (See *Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed., p. 172.)

Panchkula or *Panchkalshi* is the general designation of the similar class of people in the Bombay Presidency. They are also called *Varnasankar* or *Sankarjâtî*, i.e., the mixed castes. In other words, they do not properly belong to any of the four castes, and are said to owe their existence to unions between males and females of different castes.

Tope-Khana.—The following early use of the word may be noticed :—

[1668.] " Some time in October or November a letter was received from Robert Smith dated from the *Topconno* in Dehli."—*English Factories in India*, ed. Foster (1668-69), p. 36.

Toshaconna.—To the illustrative quotations in the first edition, Mr. Crooke has added in the second, a passage from Roe's Journal in which ' Atashckannoe ' is mentioned (II, 300). The same word is used by the ambassador again at p. 363, but it has nothing to do with ' Toshakhâna.' It stands for *yâtish-khâna*, ' guard room.' The latter word occurs more than once in the *Journal* of William Finch, who describes it as the place where the Emperor's " Captaines according to their degrees keep their seventh day chockees."—*Early Travels in India*, ed. Foster, p. 184. See also *ibid.*, pp. 162, 164; and Monserrate, trans. Hoyland, p. 206.

Tuckavee.—This familiar word is as old at least as the days of Akbar and is found in several Persian writers of that period. Firishta writes in his account of the reign of Muḥammad Tughlaq (1325-1351 A.D.) :—

[*c.* 1610.] " He . . . . took some pains to encourage husbandry and commerce and for this purpose (?) gave large sums to the inhabitants from the treasury. But as the people were distressed for food they expended the money on the necessaries of life."—Trans. Briggs, I, 425. Here the word in the original is تقاوی (Lucknow lith., I, 137, l. 10 from foot). See also *ibid.*, I, 140, l. 15 (corresponding to Briggs, I, 433).

The author of the *Tabaqât-i-Akbarî*, who wrote about 1595 A.D., employs the identical word in the same connection (Lucknow lithograph, p. 103, l. 3 from foot; p. 107, l. 13).

Upper Rojer.—As Sir Richard Temple has pointed out, the Pâli word is *upa-râja* (Bowrey, p. 259, note), and this is much nearer to the *Hobson-Jobson* form than the Sanskrit

yuva-râja. Sir Henry Elliot gives some other " happy examples of the *Hobson-Jobson* dialect," which I may be permitted to quote as they are not in Yule.

"We have heard our European soldiery," he writes, " convert Shekhawati into ' Sherry and water ' ; Sirâju-d-daula into a belted knight, ' Sir Roger Dowler,' Dalîp into ' Tulip ' : Shah Shujâ'u-l-Mulk into ' Cha sugar and milk,' and other similar absurdities."—*History of India*, I, 516.

Whether " happy " or not, they are certainly curious.

Vaishnava.—There is a very early mention of this sect by name in 'Al Shahrastâni's *Kitâbu'l-Milal wa-'l-Nihal.*' Of the الباسنويه (*Al-Bâsnawiya*) he says: "They believe their apostle to be a spiritual angel who came down to earth in the form of a man. . . . He ordered them to make an idol resembling him, to approach, to adore it, and to walk round it every day thrice, with musical instruments, fumigation, song and dance. He ordered them to magnify cows, and to worship them whenever they perceived any, and to take refuge in penitence by stroking them."—Rehatsek's Translation in *Journal, BBRAS.*, vol. XIV, No. XXXVI, p. 61.

Yaboo.—Yule's first quotation from an English author is of 1754. The following is a much earlier example :—

[1669.] " All such [horses] as procurable of any worth were taken and seized on by the Kings generall. . . . *Yabboute* which formerly were in noe esteeme, are now growne to extraordinary prizes."—*English Factories in India*, ed. Foster (1668-9), p. 210.

Yak.—Ralph Fitch is perhaps the earliest English author who writes of this animal, though he does not give the name.

[*c.* 1585.] " They [the people of Bhutân] cut the tailes of their kine and sell them very deere, for they bee in great request, and much esteemed in those parts. The haire of them is a yard long, the rumpe is above a spanne long; they use them to hang them for braverie upon the heades of their elephants ; they bee much used in Pegu and China."—*Early Travels in India*, ed. Foster, p. 27.

Zantel.—This word is not in *Hobson-Jobson*, but it is used by Pelsaert, de Laet and Herbert. The first of these authors writes :—

[1626.] " The *tsantel* or messenger, a plume on his head and two bells at his belt, runs at a steady pace, ringing the bells ; they carry their masters' letters a long distance in a short time, covering from 25 to 30 kos in a day."—*Jahângîr's India*, p. 62.

[1631.] " The *Zanteles* or runners (who wear feathers on their heads and carry two cymbals hung from their belts, which they clash as they go) can cover 25 or 30 cos in one day."—De Laet *De Imperio Magni Mogolis*, trans. Hoyland, p. 90.

Mr. W. H. Moreland is not sure whether it represents *chandâl* or *Santâl*. Neither Pelsaert nor de Laet could have known anything about the aborigines called Sontâls, and there is nothing to show that they were generally employed as messengers in the part of the country with which these authors were familiar. But the following passages from Abul Fazl seem to show that the word stands for ' chandâls.'

[1592.] " On 4 Bahman [1000 H=1592] Khidmat Rai died of dysentery. He belonged to a tribe which was unequalled in India for wickedness. They are also called Mawi [*recte* Meo ?] and *chandâl*. His Majesty favoured him and made him chief of his tribe, and guided him towards honesty. . . . As he had the title of Khidmat Rai, every one of the tribe is called *Khidmatiyâ*."—*Akbarnâma*, trans. Beveridge, III, 922.

It would appear from the *Âîn-i-Akbarî*, that these *Khidmatiyâ* belonged to the same class as, if they were not absolutely identical with, the ' Mewras.' The latter are described as " natives of Mewât, who are famous as runners. They bring from great distances with zeal anything that may be required. They are excellent spies. . . . Their wages are the same as the preceding [*scil. Khidmatiyâs*].—*Âîn-i-Akbarî*, trans. Blochmann, I, 252.

It would seem that ' Khidmatiyâs,' ' Mawis ' (i.e., Meos), Mewras, and ' Chandâls ' were practically identical.

SIR AUREL STEIN IN GEDROSIA.

BY C. E. A. W. OLDHAM, C.S.I.

IN the course of the 25 months from March 1926 to April 1928 Sir Aurel Stein accomplished a series of three remarkable tours of archæological exploration on the north-western frontiers of India, tours which for masterly conception, for rapidity, yet thoroughness, of execution, and for variety and value of results stand unequalled, we believe, in the history of Indian archæological exploration. The fruits of the first two tours in (1) Upper Swât and Adjacent Tracts (March-May 1926) and (2) Wazîristân and Northern Balûchistân (Jan.-April 1927) have already been noticed in this journal. In the third,[1] with which we deal here, Sir Aurel covered a vast extent of country, stretching from Mastung near Quetta to the extreme south-western corner of Makrân close to the Persian border, and from the Râskôh range in northern Makrân to the Arabian Sea, examining all areas likely to contain remains of antiquarian interest in the now arid provinces of Khârân, Sarâwân, Jhalawân and Makrân. In the course of his rapid journeys, facilitated by the use of motor lorries and camels, he succeeded in examining upwards of 150 sites, and was able to make halts of some days at the most important of these and to conduct trial excavations where the proximity of a settled population provided sufficient labour for the purpose.

The wealth of material collected at scores of sites is so vast and the questions of archæological, historical and geographical interest involved so numerous that space will not permit of more than a brief survey of the main features of the results attained. Evidence of extensive settlements dating in many cases from early prehistoric times, and in some cases of prolonged duration, was found at a large number of sites in different parts of the areas explored. These were most numerous in the Mashkai, Kolwa, Kêj, Dasht and Nihing valleys, and in Rakhshân and Parôm. As might have been expected, the most ancient sites have been traced along and adjoining the valleys of the main rivers, where, we are forced to conclude, the supply of water for man and beast and for purposes of irrigation must have been more abundant at the time when they were occupied than has been the case since the earliest historic times. Of sites of special interest may be mentioned Suktagên-dôr, about 35 miles NW. of Gwâdar, in the Dasht valley ; Shâhî-tump some four miles from Turbat in what is known as the Kêj valley ; Kullî-damb, near Âwarân in the west central basin of the Hingol river ; Siâh-damb, near Jhau in the east central basin of the Hingol ; and Mehî-damb, near Jebrî in the upper basin of the same river, some 40 miles SW. from Nâl, where careful excavations, with the results of which readers of the *Indian Antiquary* are familiar, were carried out by Mr. H. Hargreaves in 1925.[2]

At Suktagên-dôr abundant finds of pottery, objects in stone and shell and cinerary deposits indicated a culture closely related to those of chalcolithic sites in Sîstân and in the Zhob and Loralai valleys in N. Balûchistân, but pointing perhaps to an earlier stage, as the profusion of stone implements found both above and below ground would indicate. The occupation of this site was evidently prolonged and confined to chalcolithic times. It is specially interesting to notice the evidence here of funeral customs similar to, but probably older than, those traced in the Zhob valley.

At Shâhî-tump the indications were so hopeful to his practised eye as to induce Sir Aurel to make a comparatively long halt (of eleven days), and the considerable excavations, which he was able to carry out owing to labour being available from some villages in the neighbourhood, more than justified his anticipations, as a wealth of pottery, stone implements and other objects, including human remains, was recovered. Here were found no less than 85 terracotta figurines of humped bulls, the similarity of which with the *vâhana* of Śiva was sufficiently

[1] *A. S. I. Memoir* No. 43 : *An Archæological Tour in Gedrosia*, by Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E. Government of India Press, Calcutta, 1931.

[2] *A. S. I. Memoir* No. 35 : *Excavations in Balûchistân*, etc. (1925), by H. Hargreaves. Government of India Press, Calcutta, 1929.

striking as to suggest to Sir Aurel the question whether we may not have to recognize "the influence of an ancient cult established already in pre-Aryan India": but, as he cautiously adds, this is a question to which only further discoveries and researches may in time permit of an answer. The burial remains and funerary deposits found at this site are of exceptional interest, a striking peculiarity of the funerary ware being the restricted range of shapes and motifs as compared with the ordinary painted pottery of this and other sites in Makrân of approximately the same age. An exact parallel to this contrast seems to be furnished by the painted pottery found in the earliest zone at Susa.

At Kullî-damb trial excavations were carried out for about a week, resulting in a variety of important finds, including an abundance of painted pottery of superior quality, terracotta figurines of humped bulls (66) and of a female (5) described by Sir Aurel, for reasons referred to below, as the 'goddess,' funerary remains and stone-built structures. The pottery and figurines and other objects disclosed similarity with finds in the early strata at Shâhî-tump and at sites in the Zhob and Loralai valleys and in Sîstân. Sir Aurel considers that this site, the largest known to him in Makrân, would on extensive and systematic excavation be likely to yield further valuable results. At Siâh-damb, near Jhau, the limited exploration possible sufficed to attest prolonged early prehistoric occupation and cultures of the types noted at Kullî.

Some five days were spent in trial excavations at Mehî-damb, which proved to be another early prehistoric site, yielding a mass of early painted pottery of various types resembling those found at many other prehistoric sites in Makrân as well as in Zhob and Loralai, besides burial deposits, cinerary urns, numerous terracotta figurines, copper objects and remains of structures built of unhewn stone. Evidence was here found of simple burial after cremation as well as of the deposit of remains in cinerary urns. Specially remarkable perhaps was the abundance of terracotta figurines recovered, comprising 199 specimens of the humped bull, exclusive of fragments, and 92 of the 'goddess.' The large number of humped bulls obtained at this one site and the uniformity of the type found throughout all chalcolithic sites of Makrân and Jhalawân makes it "difficult," Sir Aurel writes, "not to believe that this animal was like its Indian counterpart, the 'Brahmani bull,' an object of popular reverence, if not of actual worship. If this assumption is right the temptation is obviously great to seek some connexion between that prehistoric worship of the population which occupied the extreme western marches of India before the 'Aryan' invasion of Vedic times, and the great role played by Śiva's bull in Indian cult from a very early historical age. There is scarcely any indication of such a cult to be found in the oldest Vedic literature. This might lead us to infer that it was an inheritance from much earlier times to which the autochthonous population of northern India with its deeply rooted archaic bent has clung notwithstanding the great transformation brought about in its civilization, racial constitution and language by the triumphant invasion of its northern conquerors. But the subject touched upon is too wide and at present too speculative to be pursued here further in what is meant for a plain record of antiquarian facts." Equally interesting is the problem raised by the female figures found in such quantities at Mehî and other sites. Sir Aurel draws attention to the fact that all these figurines, wherever the lower portions survive, invariably end below the waist in a flat base, showing that they were meant to be set up, presumably on some stand or platform. Variety is introduced mainly in the treatment of the hair dress and of the ornaments, often of a particularly ornate character, around the neck and breast. No indications of dress are attempted. Similar figurines found in the Zhob valley led Sir Aurel to the surmise that they perhaps represented a female goddess of fertility, the 'mother goddess,' whose worship is so frequently to be found in widely distant parts of Asia and Europe in historical times. He points to the connexion which in early mythological belief often appears between that 'mother goddess' and the goddess of the earth, and

also to the fact that all these figurines show the body only to below the waist as possibly affording further clues. "It is certainly curious," he concludes, "that we meet with a corresponding representation of the Earth goddess emerging from the ground with the upper portion of the body also in Buddhist and Hellenistic iconography."

From the geographical and historical points of view great interest attaches to the observations which Sir Aurel records from time to time on the evidence of a large and thoroughly settled population having dwelt in prehistoric times in so many of the tracts surveyed by him in the course of this tour, where at the present day an extremely sparse and mostly nomadic population pass a precarious existence. The arid, barren conditions of Khârân, with its almost entire absence of permanent villages, leads him to conclude that it could probably never have served as "a passage land for trade." The conditions in Makrân are not much better; and Sir Aurel draws a striking contrast between the abundance of prehistoric sites in the Kolwa and Kêj valleys and the massively built stone structures traceable at certain sites, indicating extensive and prolonged settled occupation, and the few inhabitants of today and the wretched huts of palm-matting that house practically the whole of even the settled population. The subject was forcibly impressed upon his attention at an early stage of his tour when examining some large prehistoric mounds at Zayak and Taghazîdamb in the Besêma valley about the head-streams of the Garuk river, some 90 miles SW. by S. of Kalât. Here the specimens of ancient pottery found strewn upon the mounds showed features of special interest, and Sir Aurel would have welcomed the possibility of excavation; but the total absence of a settled population within a radius of 30 miles precluded this. It was clearly impossible to suppose that this tract could in prehistoric times have supported the number of settlements indicated by the extant mounds had the climatic conditions been as unfavourable then as they are now.

In regard to all this unmistakable testimony to change of physical conditions the two questions that will probably first strike the reader are (1) what causes have operated to bring it about? and (2) at what period approximately did it occur? Dealing with corresponding signs of change in northern Balûchistân and Wazîristân, Sir Aurel has recorded elsewhere[3] that he had failed to observe definite evidence of 'desiccation.' In the absence of any record or other proof it would be hazardous to pronounce the evidence as definite; yet it seems convincing to reason that something has happened to render conditions of life more difficult, whether this be due to diminution of rainfall and subsoil moisture, or to neglect to maintain an ancient system of storage and regulation of water-supply for purposes of irrigation and human consumption, or to both these causes. In this connexion the affiliated question of the deforestation of the hill-sides should also be considered. Whatever the theoretical findings may be in respect of the effect of tree and vegetable growth upon soil moisture, experience shows that such growth does have the effect of checking desiccation. Can it be that these rugged hills have gradually become shorn of a growth that once covered them, and that this has acted as at least a contributory cause of the change? As to when the change began to have the effect of depopulating the country, the period must have been remote. We learn from the accounts that have come down to us of the hardship endured by Alexander the Great and his army in their passage along southern Makrân. That these accounts are not wholly fictitious we can rest satisfied from various items of description which are confirmed by existing facts. Even allowing for exaggeration with a view to magnification of Alexander's achievements—and we are rather inclined to suspect this, having

[3] *A. S. I. Memoir* No. 37: *An Archæological Tour in Wazîristân and Northern Balûchistân*, by Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E. Government of India Press. Calcutta, 1929.

regard to other evidence—we may safely conclude that conditions have not completely altered since the fourth century B.C., and that Gedrosia was even then a " worthless and sandy " country (πονηρός καὶ ψαμμώδης, Arrian). We are disposed to regard the massive, stone-built *gabar-bands*, or embankments, noticed by Sir Aurel in so many areas, as having a bearing upon the question. It seems possible that the construction, involving immense labour, of such huge dams or training-works for the conservation or control of water for purposes of irrigation was originally prompted by a diminution in the supply brought about by a change in climatic conditions. In any case a marked change appears likely to have taken place in later prehistoric times, as we notice that certain sites which disclose prolonged, settled, prehistoric occupation were abandoned before historic times.

As will be readily understood, Sir Aurel in planning this tour had kept in view the possibility of finding in the intervening country further links between the remains of the " Indus culture " found at Harappâ and Mohenjo-daro and the cultures revealed from prehistoric sites in Sistân, Îrân and the Tigris-Euphrates basin. That such links have indeed been traced by him will be obvious to all who study the records of these last two tours ; but their exact historical, cultural and chronological interrelations still remain in large measure to be worked out. We must await, on the one hand, the complete stratigraphical exploration of certain sites, which he had neither the time nor the means to carry out, and, on the other hand, the detailed expert examination and correlation of the mass of ceramic and other material which he has recovered. It is to be hoped that necessary measures are being taken to have this critical examination made.

It is of far-reaching interest to note the evidence which Sir Aurel Stein has now unveiled of what may perhaps be regarded as two main series of routes of communication between Îrân and (shall we say ?) Sumer and north-western India, the one, more northerly, through N. Balûchistân and Wazîristân, and the other, to the south, along the valleys of Makrân and through the hills of Jhalawân, to the fertile plains of the Indus basin. The observations in connexion with the latter routes and with the significance of the persistence of a Brâhûî population, speaking a Dravidian language, in Jhalawân and Sarâwân contained in Chapter I call for study and further development.

BOOK-NOTICES.

REVIEW OF PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION, being the Journal of the Academy of Philosophy and Religion, vol. II, No. 1, March 1931. Aryabhushan Press, Poona.

This interesting periodical, which contains, among other articles, a summary of the latest physical concept of matter, is specially noticeable for an original and well-reasoned discussion of 'Totemism and the Maratha Devak' by J. Abbott, I.C.S., with which the number commences. Mr. Abbott has collected from many thousand cases personally examined a list of *devaks* which advances our present knowledge materially. By far the greater number are the names of trees and plants. Among some 30 odd entries which he classes as not identifiable, we note the *singaṅvel*, which is the *Gouania microcarpa*, the *virchatra*, which is the royal umbrella, a well known protector against the possible evil influence of the sun's rays (*vide* Campbell, *Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom*), and the *vâdvagni*. The latter, according to Molesworth, is a mythical animal of flame, found in the sea. Another occasion must be found to deal adequately with Mr. Abbott's interesting theory that the *devak* is not a totem, but merely a vehicle for invoking the presence of the *śakti*. It would seem that the conclusions put forward fail to give sufficient weight to the evidence already on record regarding totem divisions among the Gonds, Muṇḍâs and other early tribes in other parts of India, where there is far less trace of the super-imposed Brahmanistic culture, which, in the cases dealt with in his article, has obviously obscured the original nature of the practices dealt with. To read into the rapidly decaying survivals of a once consistent

primitive system of exogamy the conclusions suggested by the super-imposed Hindu practices which, as Crooke so well establishes, have overlaid so many original superstitions, is to travel far from the truth. Briefly, Mr. Abbott's method, interesting as it is, suggests the work of an archæologist who would attempt to describe the buildings in ancient Rome on the results of a study of the recently erected Vittorio Emmanuele monument. All the same, we are indebted to him for the useful additions which his researches have made to a most important ethnological problem, and one that lies at the root of the question of caste and tribal origins in India.

R. E. E.

JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY, vol. XVI, Pts. III and IV, September-December, 1930.

The leading article in this issue of the JBORS. is a long and important paper on 'Problems of Śaka-Sâtavâhana History' by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, in which he discusses a large number of controversial questions with characteristic acumen and wealth of reference. Mr. Jayaswal would place the initial year of the 'earlier Śaka era,' as he prefers to call it, at about 123 B.C. He does not accept the view that the 'historical Śaka era' (78 A.D.) was established by Wima Kadphises, pointing out that we have records dated 187 and 191 of the time of Wima, which is sufficient to prove that he did not establish an era of his own. He holds that the date on the Âmohinî tablet of the reign of Mahâkshatrapa Śoḍâsa is 42, and not 72, and would equate it with about 81 B.C.

Mr. Jayaswal expresses the conviction that Gautamîputra Śâtakarṇi was the Vikramâditya of Hindu story and of the Jaina *gâthâs*, and that it was he who conquered Nahapâna and freed the whole of Mâlava and Avanti from the Śakas. He thinks it probable that the Mâlavas took a leading part in the campaign, and that it was they who founded the V.S. era, "as marking the foundation of their Râjpûtânâ *gaṇa*-state, which synchronized with the defeat of the Śakas and was evidently connected with it." He elaborates his previous conclusion that the Kushâṇa dynasty were Śakas, and emphasizes the point that contemporary, formal documents disclose Kushâṇa as the personal name of the father and predecessor of Wima. The term Kushâṇa, he further points out, is not employed in the Purâṇas, which may be regarded as supporting his view that it was not the tribal or family name, but "a personal name adopted by the founder of the dynasty."

The question of Śâtavâhana chronology is dealt with at much length with an abundance of references from the Purâṇas, Jaina and other texts, inscriptions and coins, resulting in the framing of a complete list of 29 kings from Simuka Śâtavâhana ($\frac{208}{213}$—$\frac{182}{186}$ B.C.) down to Pulomâvi III (231—238 A.D.) giving the probable duration of each reign. This is a valuable piece of work in itself, and will serve as an important aid to the unravelment of a tangled period of history. Mr. Jayaswal is to be commended for the attention paid to the examination of the Jaina texts, which so often furnish reliable historical data. Fresh light has thus been thrown on Nahapâna and on the Śaka dynasty in Saurâsṭra (Apps. A and B).

The Vikramâditya of Guṇâḍhya and Somadeva's story is identified with Kuntala Śâtakarṇi (75-78 A.D.), son and successor of Mahendra Śâtakarṇi (72-75 A.D.), who is regarded as the Śâtavâhana of 78 A.D. who defeated the Śakas: it is suggested that this explains for the first time the puzzling Hindu tradition that as in 58 B.C. Vikramâditya won a signal victory over the Śakas, marking an era, so in 78 A.D. king Śâlavâhana, a grandson of his, gained a victory over them once more, another era being reckoned from that event. "On the other hand," Mr. Jayaswal adds, "we have the definite statement of the Jaina tradition and historical evidence in its favour that the Śaka Era was started by a Śaka king. Both traditions are true. [The] year 78 A.D. was the beginning of the Śaka Era and was also the year of the second Śaka defeat in Western India at the hands of the Śâlavâhana, who was in fact a descendant of the first victor of the Śakas, Gautamîputra Śâtakarṇi."

Some interesting suggestions are made towards the identification of the dynasties mentioned in the Purâṇas as contemporary with the Ândhras, the numbers of their kings and their reign periods. Finally Mr. Jayaswal expresses the conviction that the Purâṇas contain information sufficient to furnish a complete account of local sovereignties between the Ândhras and the Guptas, but no one has set his hand to clear up this so-called 'dark period.' We can only hope that Mr. Jayaswal, who is so eminently fitted for it, will be able to find time to undertake the task himself.

While several of Mr. Jayaswal's findings are necessarily open to modification in the event of further evidence becoming available, we commend the courage with which he has tackled many thorny points, the extent of his research and the ability in piecing together disjected data shown in this paper.

C. E. A. W. O.

EPIGRAPHIC NOTES AND QUESTIONS.

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., PH.D.

(*Continued from vol. XLII, p. 258.*)

XXI. The Years called Krita, or the Origin of the Vikrama Era.

Epigraphists are aware that the Saṁvat years associated with the traditional Vikramâditya were originally known as Kṛita years. It is therefore rather strange that in spite of the epigraphic evidence to the contrary some scholars[1] have maintained that there was a king called Vikramâditya flourishing about 57 B.C., who founded the era. As a matter of fact, almost all the Saṁvat years before the fifth century A.D. have been styled Kṛita years, and there is not even the remotest hint in any one of the early inscriptions that they were in any way connected with a king called Vikramâditya. But here we have to consider the question : what is meant by Kṛita years or *kṛitâḥ vatsarâḥ* ? The earliest inscription in which a year of this era has been referred to has been found at Nandâsâ, Udaipur State, Râjpûtânâ. The date expressed in this record is : *Kṛitayor=ddvayor=śatayor=ddvyaśîtayaḥ (tau)* 200 80 2 *Chaitre.*[2] The point worthy of note is that the word Kṛita stands exactly in apposition with *varsha, vatsara,* or any such synonymous word following it in all the inscriptions where Kṛita is mentioned.[3] What does the word Kṛita, therefore, mean in such phrases ? I suggested long ago that it possibly meant 'made' and referred to the years of an era invented by astronomers.[4] There was, however, no evidence to support it, and there was nothing in this suggestion which could inherently command acceptance. I now put forward another suggestion for what it is worth, as no scholar has yet come forward to explain satisfactorily what Kṛita means.

Enough attention has not been drawn to the importance of 'the Brahmin Empire' established by the Suṅgas sometime before the Christian era. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal was the first to bring this subject to our notice in two papers on 'the Brahmin Empire.'[5] In the second of these he has quoted a passage from the *Harivaṁśa* attached to the *Mahâbhârata* where Pushyamitra and his revival of Brahmanism have been clearly hinted at. Soon after reading this paper I happened to light upon Chapters 190-1 of the *Vanaparvan* of the *Mahâbhârata,* which describe the Kaliyuga and its atrocities. We are told that during the Kali Age the Śûdras will be the preachers and the Brâhmaṇs the hearers, that the earth will be adorned, not by shrines of gods, but by Buddhist *stûpas* (*eḍûka*) and that India itself would be overrun by the Mlechchha hordes. This has been described as the character of the Kaliyuga, but Kaliyuga will gradually, we are told, develop into a *sandhi* period before the Kṛitayuga is ushered in. In regard to the Kṛitayuga, we are told, that " when the Sun, the Moon, and Bṛihaspati, will, with the constellation of Pushya, enter the same (zodiacal) sign, the Kṛita Age will begin again." We are further informed that a Brâhmaṇ named Vishṇuyaśas will be born as Kalkî in the town of Sambhala in a Brâhmaṇ family and that he will be not only a supreme ruler (*chakravartin*) but also a righteous conqueror (*dharma-vijayî*). He will exterminate the Dasyus, perform a great Horse Sacrifice, give back the earth to the Brâhmaṇs, establish the worship of *triśûlas, śaktis* and deer-skins, and will usher in the Kṛita Age (Chap. 191, vs. 1-9). I am afraid this description suits Pushyamitra excellently, as he was a Brâhmaṇ, a supreme ruler, a righteous conqueror, and celebrated a horse sacrifice and re-established the Brâhmaṇic religion. Nay, the account of the Kaliyuga preceding the advent of Kalkî lays stress on the predominance of Buddhism and the Śûdras becoming the preachers, exactly as is done by the *Harivaṁśa,* according to which this state of things

[1] Such as C. V. Vaidya in *Ind. Rev.,* Dec. 1909 ; Haraprasad Sastri, *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XII. p. 32 ; and K. M. Shembavnekar, *Jour. Ind. His.,* Vol. X. p. 143 ff.

[2] D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India,* No. 1 (Appendix, *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XIX. p. 1 ff.).

[3] These have been culled together by me in *R. G. Bhandarkar Comm. Vol.,* p. 191 ff.

[4] *Ind. Ant.,* 1913, p. 163.

[5] *JBORS.,* 1918, p. 257 ff. ; 1928, p. 24.

was ended by Senânî *dvija*, who, as shown by Mr. Jayaswal, cannot but be Pushyamitra. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that in the case of the *Mahâbhârata* also, Pushyamitra is intended by the description of Kalkî. The only difficulty that may be raised is that Kalkî is spoken of as a personage to come. But Mr. Jayaswal has already told us that the Purâṇas "clearly say that he did flourish."[6] Thus the *Matsya-purâṇa* says that the Buddha was born as the ninth (*avatâra*) and that Kalkî, Vishṇuyaśas, the leader of the Parâśaras, will be the tenth incarnation at the close of Kaliyuga. Then follows a description of his conquests, but at the end we are told that "Time having passed that king (or god, *deva*) *disappeared*." This clearly shows that according to some authorities the Kalkî Incarnation of Vishṇu has come and gone. This means that the Kali Age also has passed away, giving rise to the Kṛita which is therefore now going on. If this line of reasoning has any weight, Pushyamitra becomes the inaugurator of the Kṛita Epoch which began with 57 B.C.

I am aware that Pushyamitra has been assigned to circa 180 B.C. on the strength of the dynastic lists and regnal periods specified by the Purâṇas. The testimony of the Purâṇas may perhaps be utilised when there is nothing of an irrefragable character to contradict it. Unfortunately the recent discovery of a Śuṅga inscription in Ayodhyâ runs counter to the above date of Pushyamitra. It refers to the reign of Dhanadeva, son of Phalgudeva and Kauśikî, who was Lord of Kosala. But the most important point about it is that Dhanadeva says that he was sixth in descent from "Senâpati Pushyamitra, who twice performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice." Now, Mr. N. G. Majumdar rightly says in regard to this epigraph that the alphabet is "almost the same as in the records of the Northern Kshatrapas (first century A.D.)"[7] Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni, who edited this inscription last, also remarks that it "on palæographic grounds must be assigned to about the first century A.D."[8] In fact, if any scholar frees his mind from any bias created by the date already assigned to Pushyamitra on the strength of the Purâṇas and considers impartially the palæography of the Ayodhyâ inscription, he cannot but come to the same conclusion, viz., that the record belongs to the first century A.D. We have seen that Dhanadeva was sixth in descent from Pushyamitra and if we assign 25 years to a generation, an interval of 150 years must have separated the two. Further, supposing Dhanadeva lived about 75 A.D., Pushyamitra has to be placed circa 75 B.C. It is possible that he first seized power about that time, but he must have been engaged in internecine warfare for a pretty long period before he could put down the Mlechchha rulers and establish himself as an indisputable paramount sovereign. That he was engaged in warfare for a long period is shown by the fact that he celebrated the horse-sacrifice not once but twice. The first horse-sacrifice must have been celebrated after he first established his power. But it seems that it was soon after called in question by a number of enemies who had arisen. These were, however, put down, and he re-established his supremacy, which was signalised by the second performance of the horse-sacrifice. Although he thus first came to power in 75 B.C., it was not till 57 B.C. that he became an undisputed supreme ruler and a righteous conqueror (*dharma-vijayî*). So the Kṛitayuga must have been ushered in by him when his power was established for the second time and placed on a firm footing.

Now only one difficulty remains in regard to our theory that the so-called Vikrama Saṁvats are years of the Kṛita era. It may reasonably be asked how Kṛita in such a case stands in apposition to *varsha*. We would rather have *Kṛita-vatsarâḥ* or *Kârttâḥ vatsarâḥ*, but not *Kṛitâḥ vatsarâḥ*. Fortunately for us we have a parallel for such terminology in the Śaka era. It is well-known that the years of this era have once been called *Śaka-nṛipati-râjy-âbhisheka-saṁvatsara*,[9] but that they are generally called Śaka-saṁvat. It is however worthy of note that there are some inscriptions, where Śaka stands exactly in apposition to Saṁvatsara as Kṛita does. Thus a grant of Harihara II of the Vijayanagara dynasty has the

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, 1917, pp. 145-6.
[7] *An. Bhand. Inst.*, Vol. VII. p. 160.
[8] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX. p. 57.
[9] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII. p. 211.

following: *Śrî-Śake trayodaś-âdhika-triśat-ottara-sahasra-gate*.[10] If any inscription from Northern India is required in support of this proposition, it is supplied by the Śomavaṁśî king Karṇarâja of Kakaira, bearing the date *Chaturddaś-ottare s=eyam=ekâdase(śa-)śate Śake*.[11] In both these cases Śaka has been used in the sense of " the years of the Śaka era." It thus seems that the years of the Kṛitayuga in course of time similarly came to be known as merely Kṛita. In fact, Kṛita was considered to be the actual designation of these years. This is clearly shown by the phrase *Kṛita-saṁjñite* which occurs in a Mandasor record.[12] From this it is evident that Kṛita denoted not only an epoch, but also the years of that epoch. There is therefore no reasonable ground against the supposition that the Vikrama years were originally the years of the Kṛitayuga and that this epoch was ushered in most probably by Pushyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty.

NOTE ON A FIND OF ANCIENT JEWELLERY IN YÂSÎN.

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E.

IN November, 1930, Mr. J. H. Todd, then Political Agent in Gilgit, was good enough to bring to my notice an interesting find of ancient trinkets and other small objects which had been made on the once cultivated stretch of ground known as Dasht-i-Taus in the Hindukush valley of Yâsîn belonging to the Gilgit Agency. As I was then travelling in Chinese Turkestân no inspection of the objects was possible for me at the time. But when, on my return to Kashmîr in June, 1931, I passed through Gilgit, Mr. Todd very kindly handed me the collection of objects for examination, with a view to a record of the find being published. In compliance with this request the present brief report has been prepared.

No detailed information is available as to the exact circumstances of the find. But according to the statement supplied by the Khushwaqt Governor of Yâsîn to Mr. Todd it was made by villagers of Yâsîn while digging up a small mound on the Dasht-i-Taus. This locality, which is known by tradition as having been once irrigated, was visited by me in 1913 in the course of my third Central-Asian expedition. Its old remains as far as traceable above ground have been described in *Innermost Asia*, i. pp. 43, 44. The area of old cultivation occupies a plateau on the right bank of the Yâsîn river and extends from about two and a half miles above the village of Yâsîn for a distance of three miles up the valley.

On it is found a large ruined circumvallation, built with rough stonework, which is vaguely ascribed to some Chinese invasion ' in the old times.' No information is available as to where the digging took place nor whether the objects sent by the Governor were all excavated in one place. But there is some reason to suspect that the villagers' digging was not confined to a single spot and that the articles sent are only specimens of the ' proceeds ' which attended this " irresponsible excavation." The fact that most of them are of gold suggests that there was encouragement for extending it before further disturbance of the ground was stopped under instructions from the Political Agent.

Comparison of the objects with those which I cleared in 1913 from burial deposits near Dudukôt in Darêl, the tract due south of Yâsîn on the other side of the range separating the Gilgit river valley from the Indus,[1] suggests a similar provenance for them. Those Darêl objects had certainly been deposited with remains of cremated bodies. The same was the case also with the small jewels and beads found by me in 1927 within a cinerary jar close to the ruined Buddhist Vihâra of Shâhi Yola-mîra, at Tôr-ḍhêrai in the Lôralai District of Balûchistân.[2] The discovery at this site of potsherds inscribed in Kharoṣṭhî characters of the Kushân period makes it highly probable that this cinerary deposit of Tôr-ḍhêrai belongs to the early centuries of our era.

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10 *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. IV. p. 115 f.

11 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX. p. 186, l. 15. Compare also the date 944 of the Kaḷachuri era which is described as " 944 years named Sâhasamalla " (*Memoirs A.S.I.*, No. 23, p. 137, v. 53).

12 D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscr. of North Ind.*, No. 3.

1 See *Innermost Asia*, i. pp. 24, 25. 29.

2 See my *Archæological Tour in Wazîristân and Northern Balûchistân* (Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 37), pp. 69 sq.

Of the date of the small relics recovered in Darêl nothing more could be said than that they dated from pre-Muhammadan times. These extended in these Hindukush valleys until three or four centuries ago, in remote parts perhaps even later. It is hence all the more gratifying that in the case of the Yâsîn find more definite chronological evidence is available. It is furnished by two of the objects which on account of their interest may be described first. One is the small bronze figure, 3¾ inches high and 2½ inches across at its base, of a Bodhisattva reproduced in Pl. I. It represents him seated in a pose which I take to be that of *varamudrâ*, but which may possibly be that of the *bhumisparśa*. The right hand is lowered level with the flexed right knee, the palm turned outwards. The left hand holds some object no longer recognizable. The metal is too corroded to permit, without expert cleaning, of determining exact details of features and dress. But an ornamental band or chain below the neck can be made out and also folds of drapery arranged in the Græco-Buddhist style of Gandhâra. To this conform also the general modelling of the figure, with its hair knob and elongated ears. The lotus seat is of a shape persisting in Buddhist sculpture from the early centuries of our era down to a late period.

It is probable that the little figure found its way to Yâsîn as an import from outside, and this can be asserted with certainty of the intaglio set in the bezel of the fine gold ring in Pl. II, fig. 17. It is carved in an onyx-like stone which shows a crackled surface probably due to exposure to great heat. It represents a helmeted male head which by its style can safely be recognized as of late Hellenistic or Roman workmanship. An impression of the seal is shown in the Plate. Similar intaglios recovered by me at Khotan and elsewhere in Chinese Turkestân have, on the authority of Professor Percy Gardner, been assigned to the second-third century A.D.[3]

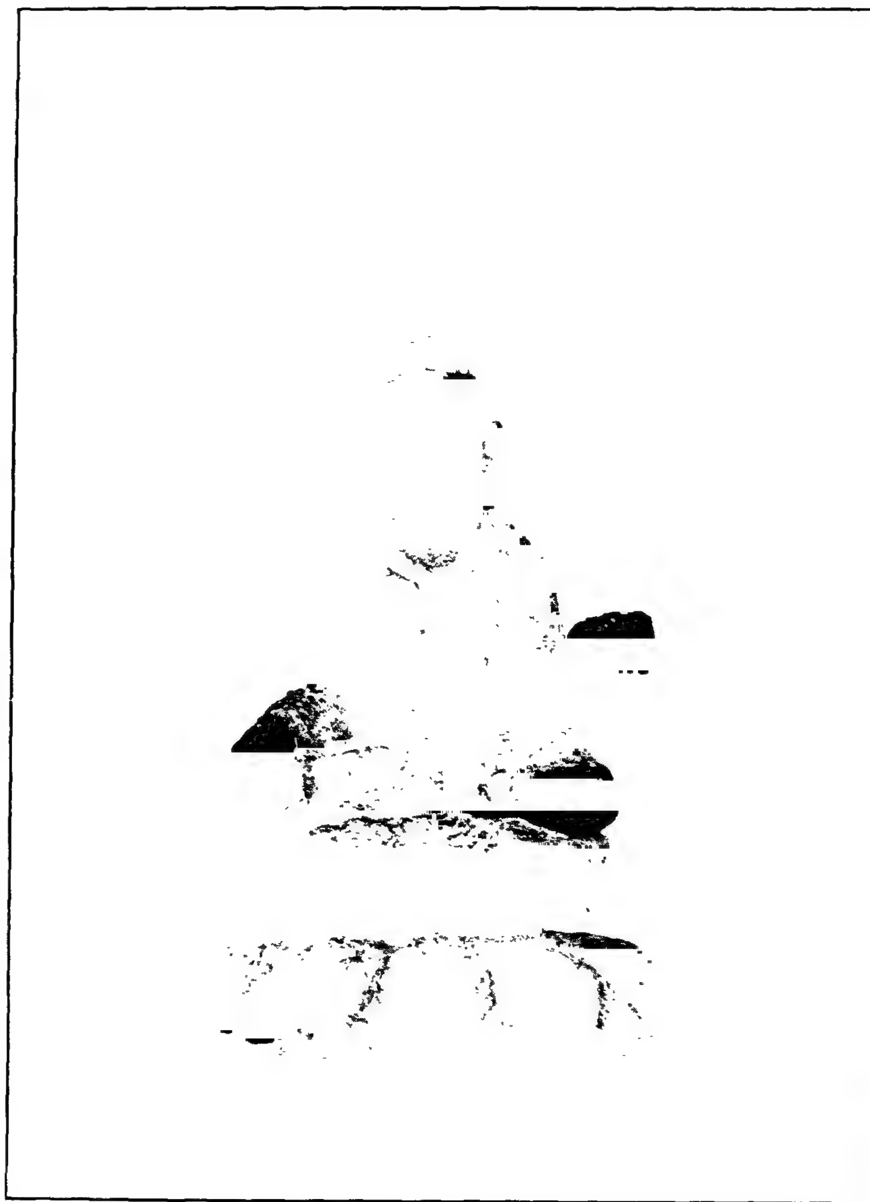
From the number of carved seal stones of this type found both in Central Asia and in the North-west of India it must be concluded that they formed a frequent article of import from the west. The fact of clay impressions from such intaglios having been excavated by me at the Niya site in the Taklamakân desert points to their having been used in Central Asia by the third century A.D.

Such small intaglios intended for seals are not likely to have ordinarily remained in use for long periods. Hence this seal affords a useful indication also for the date of the ring in which it is set. This shows very delicate ornamentation round the bottom of the high bezel. It consists of a border of gold pearls or grains at the bottom, surmounted by four symmetrically placed triangles of grains. At each end of the oval bezel a pair of round knobs is fixed as if meant to secure it to the circlet of the ring proper.

A somewhat similar style of ornamentation is observed on a second gold ring (Pl. II, fig. 5) which has lost its intaglio. The high bezel is decorated round its upper edge with a border of grains and a double cable band and, below, with eight pear-shaped small dark red stones, apparently some kind of chalcedony, of which three have been lost. Each stone has a grain border on its bezel. In the lower spandril between each pair of these bezels is shown a small triangular group of three grains. Two other rings of bronze (Pl. II, figs. 10 and 14) have seal-tops of curious lozenge shapes not otherwise known to me, one of them channelled. Both show neat workmanship.

The ornamentation with strings of tiny grains is met again on seven delicately worked gold beads (Pl. II, fig. 15), five uniform and two smaller, obviously belonging to necklaces. Each bead is made up of two ovoid globes joined together at their smaller diameter and surmounted there by a small jewel in a bezel. Perforations through the longer axis of each globe show how the necklace was strung. Only on two of the beads the bezel retains a white stone, in one case a white sapphire.

[3] Cf. *Ancient Khotan*, i. pp. 209, 210, ii. Pl. XLIX; *Serindia*, i. pp. 100, 101, 103, iv. Pl. V; *Innermost Asia*, ii. 822, iii. Pl. CXI.



Scale 1/1

BRONZE FIGURE OF BODHISATTVA FROM YĀSĪN.



Scale ½

ANCIENT JEWELLERY FOUND IN YĀSĪN.

A fine piece of jewellery is seen in the large gold bead one inch high shown in Pl. II, fig. 13. It is formed by two cones joined at their base. Each shows above a grain string three small pear-shaped stones within grain-bordered bezels and between them a triangular device also formed of small grains. Three of the small stones are lost; the others look like garnets. The same triangular device appears also as decoration on the three ribs of a gold ornament (Pl. II, fig. 11), which has a tube down its centre and probably formed part of a necklace.

The same style of decoration is seen also on the ball which forms the top portion of the elaborate gold mount fixed to a large uncut pale blue, pear-shaped sapphire, which may have been used as a pendant or ear ornament (Pl. II, fig. 16). Two small stones(?) of dark opaque colour are fixed at the ends of the transverse bar which supports the ball. Another uncut stone, partly broken, retains only a part of a similar gold mount on its top; the stone itself is flaked. There are five more uncut gems, all transparent and of irregular shapes, which show perforations meant to hold fittings. Two of them are light blue sapphires, two deep red garnets, and the fifth a crystal. With them may be mentioned a flat bead, worked of an almost black opaque stone(?).

Four globular beads of gold (Pl. II, fig. 12) are formed of neat filigree openwork. Its style is not unlike modern silver filigree ornament seen by me in Chinese Turkestân.

Strings of tiny grains play a subordinate part in the decoration of two gold ornaments (Pl. II, figs. 3 and 7), the use of which is not quite certain. Both are rosettes of gold worked in repoussé, each with a small projecting tube soldered to the flat sheet forming the back, evidently intended to fix them to some other object. The larger one, measuring 1½ inches in diameter, is decorated on the raised surface with a whorl of lotus petals in relief and within this on a higher plane with another whorl, the two whorls divided by a raised, notched band. A third, and slightly smaller, whorl is separately cut from sheetgold and is superimposed on the second. Above this a circle of grains surrounds the crowning bezel. The smaller rosette, about one inch in diameter, shows a single circle of lotus petals and a central bezel. In both cases the jewels are missing.

The lotus ornament with small leaves arranged in palmette shapes appears in the oblong gold plaque (Pl. II, fig. 20), two inches long, worked in repoussé. It may perhaps have been fixed to the end of a leather strap. The two narrow gold plaques (Pl. II, figs. 2 and 6), also in repoussé, are exactly alike in size (1¼ inch long) and in their leaf-shape ornamentation and quadrangular jewel cells. They may well have formed part of a small buckle or strap ends. Pins of silver inside probably served to fix them to leather.

The use of an oblong plaque of silver (Pl. II, fig. 1) showing floral motifs in relievo is likely to have been similar. The method of fixing the heart-shaped gilt plaque (Pl. II, fig. 8) having in its centre a bezel for a gem now missing is uncertain. Its crude ornament is poorly chased.

There still remain to be mentioned two small cases of thin gold sheet (Pl. II, figs. 4 and 18) both obviously meant to hold amulets like the modern *ta'wîz* still to be seen in the North-west of India and probably elsewhere also. The front side of the larger one, two inches square, has for its chief ornament a lotus flower in repoussé, with a circular bezel for a gem now lost, and four more pear-shaped bezels in the corners, also without the gems they were meant to hold. On the back a quatrefoil of heart-shaped leaves is enclosed within a pearl border. One of the sides is now open but shows holes for small rivets or suspension loops.

The smaller case, measuring approximately 1½ by 1¼ inches, consists of two thin gold plates, the turned-over edges of one fitting over those of the other and both decorated in repoussé. There is in the centre of each side a plain sunk oblong surrounded by a floral scroll which is suggestive of the twining acanthus ornament often seen on wood carvings of the Niya and Lou-lan sites (*circa* third century A.D.) in Chinese Turkestân and in Gandhâra relievos also.

There is also a golden hairpin, 3½ inches long, shown in Pl. II, fig. 9. Its top portion is ornamented on one side with a simple geometrical pattern on a stippled ground. Two

much corroded objects seem to be of silver. One is a button (Pl. II, fig. 19) showing remains of gold plating, with a trefoil floral design no longer clearly recognizable ; the other a wristlet of thin wire, crudely decorated with incisions.

Not much artistic merit can be claimed for the collection as a whole. But some of the objects show skilful craftsmanship far above the present gold and silversmith's work in the Hindukush region. Taken altogether the collection is of distinct archæological interest since, on the assumption that it comprises more or less contemporary deposits, it enables us to associate certain recurring ornamental motifs in the metal work, such as the string of pearls, with the period to which the intaglio with the helmeted head must be assigned. At this period the influence of Hellenistic art asserted itself potently in even more remote regions to the north of the Hindukush.

Mr. Todd has been kind enough to leave the disposal of the objects above described to me. I propose to deposit them under the care of the Indian Archæological Department in the place where the collections of antiquities recovered by me on my Central-Asian expeditions and belonging to the Government of India are temporarily stored at New Delhi, pending the hoped-for construction in the future of a Museum suitable for displaying them.

DEVAKS.

By R. E. ENTHOVEN, C.I.E., I.C.S. (*Retired*)

List[1] of common devaks, with Botanical and other equivalents.

	DEVAKS.	EQUIVALENTS.
1.	Adad	*Phaseolus Mungo*
2.	Agada, Aghada	*Achyranthes aspera*
3.	Agasti	*Sesbania grandiflora*
4.	Agasvel, Akashvel	*Cassytha filiformis*
5.	Ahir	A fish
6.	Ain	*Terminalia tomentosa*
7.	Airana	*Clerodendron phlomoides*
	Ala, Aladagidda	see Vad
8.	Amba	Mango, *Mangifera indica*
9.	Anjan	*Hardwickia binata*
10.	Apa	*Typha angustifolia*
11.	Apta	*Bauhinia racemosa*
12.	Arai	*Mimosa rubicaulis*
13.	Arati	*Mimosa hamata*
	Arka	see Rui
	Arkhe	see Haral
	Arsina	see Halad
14.	Asanvel	*Pterocarpus Marsupium*
	Ashvatha	see Pipal
15.	Asoka, Asopalava	*Polyalthia longifolia*
16.	Asvali	*Vitex glabrata*
17.	Avala	*Phyllanthus emblica*
18.	Babul, Babhul	*Acacia arabica*
19.	Bail	Bullock
20.	Bajipotira	A bird
21.	Balde	? Bali, q.v.
22.	Bali	A bird, *Babulcus coromandis*
23.	Bandgul	*Epidendron tesselloides*

[1] This list is published as a preliminary to an article on the important subject of *devaks* in relation to caste origins, for which space has kindly been offered me in subsequent numbers of the *Indian Antiquary*.—R. E. E.

24.	Banni	*Acacia Suma*
	Banyan	see Vad
	Barangi	see Bharang
	Basandvel	see Vasandvel
	Basundrivel	see Vasundrivel
25.	Bel	*Aegle Marmelos*
26.	Bhadarache phul	*Artocarpus Lakoocha*
27.	Bharadvaj	Crow pheasant (*Centropus rufipennis*)
28.	Bharang, Bhargi	*Clerodendron serratum*
	Bhirand	see Margali
29.	Bhomad	Anthill
30.	Biju	Polecat
	Bilayatijhad	see Kavath
31.	Bor, Borati	*Zizyphus Jujuba*
32.	Chameli	*Jasminum arborescens*
33.	Champa	*Michelia champaka*
34.	Chas	Blue jay (*Coracias indica*)
35.	Chat	Spinning wheel, whorler, or a shell
36.	Chatak	A bird (*Cuculus melanoleucus*)
37.	Chinch	Tamarind (*Tamarindus indica*)
	Coral tree	see Pangara
38.	Corinda	*Carissa Carandas*
39.	Cotton wool	
40.	Daygali	A bird
41.	Darbha	*Eragrostis cynosuroides*
42.	Davana	*Artemisia phalleris*
	Deobabhul	see Kinkare
43.	Devnal	*Phragmites communis*
	Devpayarichakanis	see Pair
	Dhamale	see Babul
44.	Dhapali	*Juniperus Lycia*
	Dhar	see Tarvarichi Dhar
45.	Dhotara	Datura
46.	Dive (tinshesath)	360 lights (see also Palas)
47.	Drakshacha vel	Grape vine
48.	Dukar	Pig
49.	Durva	see Haral
50.	Gahu	Wheat
51.	Gai, gaichegomukh	Cow
52.	Gangavel	*Cucurbita maxima*
53.	Gangudli	A bird
54.	Gauri	*Calamus acanthospathus*
55.	Garuda, Garudacha pankh Garudasana	Vishnu's eagle
56.	Garudphul	*Anamirta Cocculus*
57.	Garudvel	*Tinospora cordifolia*
58.	Ghana	Oil mill
59.	Ghar	A kite, *Milvus Govinda*
60.	Ghevada	*Dolichos Lablab*
61.	Ghoda	Horse
62.	Ghondan	*Cordia Rothii*

63.	Goni	A sack
64.	Gugul	*Balsamodendron Mukul*
	Gulvel	see Garudvel
65.	Halad	Turmeric, *Curcuma longa*
66.	Har	A garland or wreath
67.	Harina	Mouse-deer
68.	Haral, Haryali	*Cynodon dactylon*
69.	Hastidant	Ivory
70.	Hati	Elephant
71.	Hivar	*Acacia leucophlœa*
72.	Hola	Ringed turtle dove
73.	Ikhmogar, Ishmogar	Jasmine, *Jasminum Sambac*
74.	Ingli	*Gymnosporia emarginata*
75.	Jaikavel	Jasmine, *Jasminum arborescens*
76.	Jakeri	A lamp of flour
77.	Jambhul	*Eugenia Jambolana*
78.	Jasvandichephul	*Hibiscus rosa-sinensis*
79.	Jowari, Juari	*Sorghum vulgare*
80.	Kabuta	Pigeon
81.	Kadamb, Kalamb	*Anthocephalus Cadamba*
82.	Kakad	*Garuga pinnata*
	Kalak	see Velu
83.	Kalimati	Black earth
84.	Kamal, Kamalachephul, Kamalachelaukad	Lotus
85.	Kambal	*Hymenodictyon excelsum*
86.	Kandyachemal	A garland of onions
87.	Kanikanche jhad	*Paramignya monophylla*
88.	Kaner, Kanhera	Almond flower, *Nerium odollum*
89.	Kank	Curlew
90.	Karal	*Bauhinia malabarica*
	Karand	see Corinda
	Karauli	see Kavali
91.	Karanj	*Pongamia glabra*
	Karvand	see Corinda
92.	Kasav, Kasavachi path	Tortoise, tortoiseshell
93.	Kasod	*Cassia sumatrana*
94.	Kate Kalak	*Bambusa arundinacea*
95.	Katvel	*Cucumis trigonus*
96.	Kaval	*Careya arborea*
97.	Kavali	*Sterculia urens*
98.	Kavath, Kavthi, Kauthi	*Feronia elephantum* (wood apple)
99.	Ketak, Kevada	*Pandanus odoratissimus* (screwpine)
100.	Khadira, Khair	*Acacia Catechu*
	Khajur, Khajuri	see Shinde
	Khijado	see Shami
101.	Khul Khula	*Crotalaria retusa*
102.	Kinkare	*Acacia Latronum*
103.	Knife	
104.	Koch, Kocha	Turmeric, *Curcuma aromatica*
105.	Kohala	Pumpkin

106.	Kolisara	Lynx
107.	Konbada	Cock
108.	Koya	A bird, *Cacomantis passerinus*
	Kudak	see Kakad
109.	Kudal	A hoe
	Kumbha	see Kaval
	Kumbhar Kukde	see Bharadvaj
110.	Kunda	Jasmine, *Jasminum pubescens*
111.	Kunda	*Andropogon intermedius*
112.	Kurhad	Axe
	Landor	see Mor
113.	Lend	Dung
114.	Lendi	*Lagerstrœmia parviflora*
115.	Lendphul	*Salacia macrosperma*
116.	Lendsune	Marigold
117.	Lokhandi	*Ventilago madraspatana*
118.	Madhvel	*Combretum ovalifolium*
119.	Magar	Crocodile
120.	Maharukh	*Ailanthus excelsa*
	Mandar, Mandarachephul	see Rui
121.	Mandra	*Marlea begoniæfolia*
	Mango	see Amba
	Maratvel	see Bel
122.	Maredi	*Erigeron asteroides*
123.	Marelicha vel	*Allophylus Cobbe*
124.	Margali	*Garcinia indica*
125.	Margati, Marjadvel Marvel, Maryadvel	*Ipomœa biloba*
126.	Maricivel	*Piper nigrum*
	Mayur	see Mor
127.	Mendi	*Lawsonia alba*
128.	Mhas	Buffalo
129.	Mirci	*Capsicum frutescens*
	Mogari	see Ikhmogar
130.	Moha, Mohwa	*Bassia latifolia*
131.	Mol	*Pyrus Pashia*
132.	Mor, Morache pise	Peacock
133.	Morvel	*Clematis Gouriana*
	Murgali	see Margali
134.	Musal	Rice-pounder
135.	Nag	Cobra
136.	Nagchampa	*Mesua ferrea*
137.	Nagvel	*Piper Betle*
138.	Nandruk	*Ficus retusa*
139.	Narel	Coco-nut
140.	Nim	*Melia Azadirachta*
141.	Nimbuni	*Citrus limonum*
142.	Nirgundi	*Vitex Negundo*
143.	Nirvel	*Limacia cuspidata*
144.	Pach, Pachna	*Pogostemon Patchouli*

145.	Padwal	*Tricosanthes anguina*
146.	Pair, Payara	*Ficus Rumphii*
147.	Pala	*Ehretia buxifolia*
148.	Palas	*Butea frondosa*
	Palvel	see Rayan
149.	Panchpalvi, Panchpallava	Leaves of five trees
150.	Pangara	*Erythrina indica*
151.	Pankanis	Reed mace, *Tyfa angustifolia*
	Panvel	see Nagvel
152.	Paratachi ghadi	A washerman's cloth
153.	Paratin, Paratiniche pankh	Pied wagtail
154.	Parde	Balance scale
155.	Payani	*Vateria indica*
	Payara	see Pair
156.	Phal	Potter's patter
157.	Phanas	Jack fruit tree.
158.	Phankani	Blowpipe
159.	Phansiche ghad	*Carallia integerrima*
160.	Pipal	*Ficus religiosa*
161.	Pipli	*Ficus infectoria*
162.	Pipri	*Ficus Tsiela*
163.	Pithiche bavle	A doll made of flour
164.	Pomvale	Coral
165.	Purtak, Perkut	*Euphorbia tortilis*
166.	Rai	*Brassica juncea* (*Sinapis ramosa*, Roxb.)
167.	Rajahansa	Goose
168.	Ramban, Ramhan	*Typha elephantina* (*T. angustifolia*, Linn.)
169.	Rayan	*Mimusops hexandra*
170.	Revatavel	*Jasminum angustifolium*
171.	Rothi	*Malva rotundifolia*
	Ruchkin	see Rui
172.	Ruddraksha mal	A garland of berries, *Elæocarpus Ganitrus*
173.	Rui	*Calotropis gigantea*
	Runmogra	see Jaikavel
174.	Rupe	Silver
175.	Sag	Teak (*Tectona grandis*)
176.	Sahâmrg	Ostrich eggs
177.	Sal, Salpi, Salphali, Salai	*Boswellia serrata*
178.	Salunkhe	A bird, *gracula religiosa*
179.	Sandas	Pincers
180.	Samp	Snake
	Saundad	see Shami
181.	Sankpal	Lizard
182.	Sayal	Porcupine
183.	Sayar	*Bombax malabaricum*
184.	Serni	*Adelia neriifolia*
185.	Sevra	*Taxotrophis Roxburghii*
186.	Sevri	*Bombax heptaphyllum*
187.	Shakhar	Sugar
188.	Shami	*Prosopis spicigera*

189.	Shankh	Conch shell
190.	Sheli	Goat
191.	Shinde, Sinde	*Phœnix sylvestris*
192.	Shisheshi Gol	Bullet of lead
193.	Singanvel	*Gouania microcarpa*
194.	Siras	*Albizzia Lebbek* (*Mimosa Sirissa*, Roxb.)
195.	Sisav, Shisav	*Dalbergia Sissoo*
196.	Sone	Gold
197.	Somvel	*Sarcostemma brevistigma*
	Sonkavale	see Bharadvaj
198.	Sonvel	*Cuscuta reflexa*
199.	Sugad, Sughad	An earthen vessel
200.	Sumadravel	*Argyreia speciosa*
201.	Supari	Areca nut
202.	Surad	*Laportea crenulata*
203.	Suru	Cypress (*Tamarix dioica*)
204.	Survad	Rosha grass (*Andropogon Schœnanthus*)
205.	Suryakamal Suryakant, Suryaphul	Sunflower
206.	Sutali	String
207.	Tad	*Borassus flabellifer*
	Tamarind	see Chinch
208.	Tamba	Copper
	Tambul	see Nagvel
209.	Tarvariche dhar	Sword blade
	Tas	see Chas
	Thapatne	see Phal
210.	Tulsi	*Ocimum sanctum*
211.	Ukirda	Dung-heap
	Udid	see Adad
212.	Umbar	*Ficus glomerata*
213.	Untakantari	Camel thorn (*Echinops echinatus*)
214.	Vad	*Ficus indica*
215.	Vadvagni	A mythical animal of fire
	Vagh	see Wagh
	Vaghache Champa	see Champa
216.	Vaghanti	*Capparis Zeylanica*
	Vakumbha	See Kaval
217.	Vangay	Wild ox
218.	Varal, Varalache Singh	White ants' nest
219.	Vasandvel, Vasanvel, Vasundrivel	*Cocculus villosus*
220.	Vasukicha vel	*Chenopodium ambrosioides*
221.	Velu	Bamboo
222.	Vet	Ratan cane (*Calamus Rotang*)
223.	Vibhuti	Ashes
	Vikhmogar	see Ikhmogar
224.	Virchatra	Royal umbrella
225.	Vitkar	Burnt powdered brick
226.	Wagh	Tiger

A BALLAD OF KERALA.

By M. D. RAGHAVAN, B.A., D.A. (Oxon.), F.R.A.I., Personal Assistant to the Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras.

(*Continued from page 77.*)

Ârômaṟ then calls his mother and tells her of his resolution to fight the duel, when she becomes greatly grieved and bemoans her fate in touching words. He then calls his brother Uṇṇikkaṇṇan, and tells him of his engagement to single combat: "I have had the *aṅgam* fees paid to me. Come here and take them over." Uṇṇikkaṇṇan replies: "I am not rich in brothers. Only a single brother have I. I don't want to lose him for any wealth." Ârômaṟ answers: "If you don't take over the money, I shall fall a victim to my own sword." Uṇṇikkaṇṇan then obeys, and takes the money with tears in his eyes. Ârômaṟ tells him that in the central strong room of the house there are seven copper vessels, six of which are full, and asks him to fill up the seventh, which he accordingly does. Sobbing he returns. Seeing his distress, Ârômaṟ calls him and addresses him again: "Uṇṇikkaṇṇâ, the youngest of the *Puttûram* house, come here." Taking the kerchief from his shoulders he wipes his brother's tears, makes him sit by his side and consoles him as follows :—

"Just listen to me, my brother,
"Not because of my fame have they come ;
"It is father's fame that has brought them here.
"Father is old and weak,
"Whereas I am young and strong.
"While we two are alive
"We cannot see father fall a victim to another's sword.
"Grain or wealth we can buy or borrow,
"But honour we cannot beg or borrow.
"When father went for combats
"How much younger was I than you now are.
"Father asked my consent,
"Which I readily gave ;
"Even so do I ask of you.
"Our forefathers came here
"Adorned as professional combatants."

He continues :—

Nammuḍe[25] paṇḍêtte kâraṇanmâr	"Our forefathers
Aṅgachamayam chamaññu pônnu	"Came over here adorned as professional combatants.
Chêkavanmârâyi janichchal pinne,	"When one is born a *chêkavan*,
Vâḷkkâṇayil chôṟallô chêkônmârku	"The *chekon* has to earn his bread at the point of his sword.
Aṅgattinu ârânum vannateṅgil	"If anybody comes for *aṅgam*
Pôkâte kaṇḍiṭṭirunnu kûṭa	"He cannot refuse to go."

"Hear me again, what weighed with me in agreeing to the *aṅgam* and accepting the fees. Should father fall and die we stand to lose all honour. I am now 22 years old.

Ashṭama vyâṟam śanippiṟayum	"Jupiter[26] is in the eighth house (Scorpio) and is under Saturn's inauspicious influence,

[25] This unmistakably shows the martial organisation of the community of *chêkavars*. They were actuated by the spirit of martial service, animated by a high sense of duty.

[26] Belief in astrology is deep rooted in the mind of every Malayâḷi, and nothing of any significance is done without first calling in the astrologer, or *kanisan*, and examining the horoscope.

The reference to the eighth house is to one of the twelve signs of the zodiac, which is referred to as a house in astrology. (Cf. the term 'mansion.')

Śanippiṛa tanṟṟeapahârattil	" And in consequence of this ill-luck,
Peṭṭannu vîṇu marikkum ñâne	" Suddenly shall I fall and die :
Bâlikku paṇḍu piṛachcha vyâṛam	" That same Jupiter which in times of yore was fatal to Bâli
Annallo Bâli vadham kaṛiññu	" And which witnessed Bâli's death—
Oḷiyambinâle marichu Bâli	" Bâli[27] died by an arrow from an unknown hand—
Akkaṇakkâyi varum inikku	" That will be my fate too.
Veṛute marikkunnatine kkâḷum	" Better to die with honour
Vîriyattôḍe marikkanallu	" Than to die a plain death."

" It is on these considerations that I agreed to this fight. Hear me further :—

Nâlavastta nîyyum kêṭṭiṭṭille	" Have you not heard of the four states ?
Aṅgam piṭichâlê chêkôrâvu	" *Aṅgam* fighting alone makes a *chêkor*,
Pulasyam aniññâle nâyarâvu	" As girding the sword makes a Nâyar,
Pûnûlu miṭṭâle nambûryâvu	" And the sacred thread makes a Nambûdiri,
Maṅṅalyam aniññâle nâriyâvu	" And wearing the *tâli* makes a woman.
Nammuḍe paṇḍêtte kâraṇanmâr	" Our forefathers
Aṅgam piṭichchu kaṛiññu pônnu	" All engaged in *aṅgam* fighting.
Munnûṟṟaṛupatteṭṭu varshmâyi	" Since 368 years now,
Annutoṭṭinnu varakkaum Uṇṇi	" From that date to this
Aṅgam piṭichu kaṛiññu pônnu	" Have they maintained their prestige as *aṅgam* fighters.
Aṅgam muṭaki irunnukûṭa	" Nor can you sit quiet and refuse to fight."

" Hear me further :—

Nammuḍe panḍêtte kâranaṇmâr	" Our forefathers
Îṛuvattu nâṭṭinnu vannôrâṇe	" Have come from Îṛuvattunâḍu.[28]
Chêrânperûmâḷu tambûrânum	" Chêramân Perumâḷ tambûrân
Ôla eṛuti ayachchitallo	" Sent a written message.
Êṛuvattu râjâvinu kattu kiṭṭi	" The king of Izham got the letter ;
Kattaṅṅu vâyichchu nôkkunnuṇḍu	" And the king reads it.
Appôl parayunnu râjâvallo	" Then announces the king
Iviṭunnu êṛuvare ayakkavêṇam	" The Izhavars must be sent from here
Malayâḷa perumâḷuṭe kalpanayâl	" By the direction of the Perumâḷ of Malayâlam
Pachchakuṭayume pachchapôndi[29]	" With green umbrella and the fencing foil,[29]
Kula virutennoru chêkavarum	" With a *chekor*, Kulavirutan by name,
Malayâḷattekkaṅṅu yatṛayâyi	" Set out for Malabar.
Yâtṛayum chollinnu pôkunnêram	" When coming over, leaving their homes,
Êṛucheppu kuḍam konḍupônnu	" Took with them seven copper vessels,
Veḷḷi ôḍavum kaṭannu pônnu	" Came embarking in a silvery boat
Chêrân Perumâlu tambûrânṟṟe	" Before the tambûrân Chêramân Perumâḷ ;
Tamburân mumbâke chennitallo	" Approaching the tambûrân,
Tamburân tiru mumbil chennuninnu	" Stood before his gracious presence,

[27] The reference is to Bâli's fight with Sugrîva, an incident described in the *Râmâyaṇa*. Bâli was getting the better of Sugrîva, when Râma, to save the latter, despatched an arrow which killed Bâli.

[28] From the numerous references in this song it is manifest that the *chekavaṛs* were a community of Izhavars who were first established in and about Kadattanâḍ in North Malabar. This is particularly clear from the very significant words in which Ârômaṟ traces the origin of the race from the land of Izham, the old name for Ceylon. The ballad thus affords striking evidence of the migration of the Izhavars from Ceylon.

[29] *pondi*, a fencing foil, club of wood, the insignia of a fencing master. (See Gundert, ***Malayâlam and** English Dictionary*, p. 713.)

Tirkkâlum kaṇḍu toṟutavarum	" And, bowing to him,
Tirumukham nêriṭṭu bôdhippichchu	" Addressed the Perumâḷ in person ;
Kammâlaṟkuḷḷa piṟayum tîṟttu	" And thus ended the penalty[30] attaching to the Kammâlans.
Annûtoṭṭuḷḷa gajavirutu	" The honours attaching to us from that day,—
Neṟṟippaṭṭavum neṟukalpûvu	" Tiara for the forehead and floral decoration for the crown of the head ;
Pâvâṭa tâmmêl pakal viḷakku	" The cloth spread on the street to walk on, and the lamp by day ;
Kuttuviḷakkume pandakkuṟa	" The lamp and the garland torch with the brass handle.
Êṟukuṭayum tanniṭṭuṇḍu	" Seven umbrellas too have been given,
Tôraṇam nâlume tanniṭṭuṇḍu	" Four triumphal archways,
Ponnum pallakkume tanniṭṭuṇḍu	" The golden litter or palanquin,
Irippum naṭappum orârppukaḷum	" Processions with great pomp,
Panchavâdyavum naḍavediyum	" The five kinds of music and firing of salutes.
Chennâlaviṭeyirippânâyi	" To enable us to settle,
Taṇḍâyma[31] stânavum tanniṭṭuṇḍu	" Headship has been conferred on us,
Vîṭṭâyma stânavum uṇḍu nôkku	" And we have full household rights.
Keṭṭum kiṟiyumoraṅga taṭṭum	" The *aṅgam* fighting platform.
Îvakayokkêyum tanniṭṭuṇḍu	" All these honours have been bestowed on us,
Chêkôn pataviyum tannu nôkku	" And the rank and status of chêkôrs,
Chêrân perumâlu tamburânum	" Chêramân Perumâḷ tambûrân
Niṟa[32] paṟayum viḷakkum vechchu	" Placing a lighted lamp and a measureful of rice
Âditya chandrane sâkshiyâki	" With the sun and moon as witnesses.
Aviḍunnu yâtṟa vanaṅṅippônnu	" There they took leave of the tambûrân,
Kaṟuttenâr nâṭṭilum vannavaru	" Reached Kaṟuttênâr,
Nâduvâri kôlôttum vannavare	" Approached the *nâḍuvâḷi* of the place,
Cheppu kuḍam onnu kâṟchchavechchu	" Presented him with a gift of one of the copper vessels,
Kâṟchchayeḍuttallo tamburânum	" And the tambûrân accepted the gift,
Puttûram vîdum kalari tannu	" And gave us Puttûram house and *kalari*,
Aṭṭippêṟâyi[33] eṟutittannu	" Gave us on documentary possession,
Aṅṅane irikkunna kâlattallo	" While we were thus flourishing,

[30] Penalty for having left their home (Malabar) in a body and migrated to Ceylon. The song embodies the tradition according to which the Kammâḷans or artisans left the country fearing Perumâl's wrath, as they remonstrated against his action in allowing a washerman to marry one of their daughters. The Perumâḷ had considerable difficulty in persuading them to return home. The tradition is described at length on pages 106-114 of Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of S. India*, vol. VII.

The fact is that the artisans came in the wake of or along with the Tiyar, for in their first settlement at Kodungallur (Cranganore), the artisans (the five kinds of artificers), washerman, etc., are mentioned as having settled at the same place, along with the islanders or Tiyars, *vide* copper-plate grants of the Jews and Syrian Christians, published at pages cxviii to cxxii of Logan's *Malabar*, vol. II.

[31] The rank of *tandâns* or leaders of the community. The rank used to be conferred on certain families by the local chieftains or râjas. The use of the word is now confined to S. Malabar, where the *tandân* is the hereditary headman of the village. He used to be appointed by the senior Rânî of the Zamorin's family, or other local chieftain. He decides all caste disputes, and has a voice in all the social ceremonies of the caste. He controls the castes which serve the Tiyars, such as the washerman and the barber. He also officiates at marriages of the artisan castes. The name is however practically unheard of in N. Malabar, though there is evidence to show that the *tandân* was in former days in existence there also.

[32] The light and the heaped measure of rice are indispensable to all ceremonies in Malabar.

[33] *Aṭṭippêrâyi*, complete purchase of freehold property.

Îṛuvattu râjâkkalum nammal tanne	" Living as we did as lords in the land of Izham.
Malayâḷam tannile kalariyallo	" In the *kalaris* of Kerala,
Veṭṭum payaṟṟum naṭappillâññu	" Because of the decadence in practices that set in,
Tuḷunâṭṭil[34] nalla tuḷu kurukkal	" The Gurukkals (teachers) from Tuḷunâd
Mêlâyama sthânam kurukkalkkallo	" Were overlords, occupying the highest rank."

Continuing, he narrates how Gurukkals from Kanara were displaced, and rank and position bestowed one after another upon his ancestors in recognition of their high culture, until they were the Âsâns of the four central *kalaris* and forty-two subsidiary ones :—

Toḍuvôr kalariyil payaṟṟum kâlam	" When it is the season for practices in Toduvorkalari.
Tuḍaṅṅumbôl âyiram kiṭṭumallo	" We get a thousand (fanams) at the start,
Niṟttumbôlayirattonnum kiṭṭum	" And a thousand and one at the close.
Kaṟuttênâṟ[35] nâḍuvâṛum tambûrânu	" For the ruling tambûrân of Kaṟuttênâṟ
Uḍavâḷu piḍikkonna kalariyâne	" It is the *kalari* which carries the sword of protection and honour.
Mannalam[36] tâli piranníḍumbôḷ	" When the season is on
Maṇṇalam tâli payaṟṟuṇḍallo	" Begin the fencing feats and practices.
Êṛiya sammânam kiṭṭum nôkku	" And many a present we get
Vilayêriya paṭṭum muṇḍum kiṭṭum	" And costly silks and cloths.
Kalariyil pûja kariññîṭumbôḷ	" When the ceremonies at the *kalari* are over
Kaṇḍatokke puṟappâḍuṇḍu	" A share we have in all.
Kalariyil puja kaṛikkunnêram	" When the worship at the *kalari* begins
Chembôla nôkki kaṛichchu kôḷu	" Follow the directions in the copper-plate,
Keikarmam onnum muḍaṅṅarutu	" Let not any of the ceremonies be neglected.
Nâḍuvâṛi dêśavâṛi ettumallo	" The *nâḍuvâṛi* and *dêśavâṛi* will be there;
Nâṭṭukârokke sorumikkuṇṇi	" All the people will be there, my boy.
Nêrchchakal kiṭṭunnatu chollikkûṭa	" There is no end to the offerings made,
Kâṇân varunnavarkkaṟṟamilla	" And numberless are the men who come to see the sight."

He then recounts the great wealth accumulated by their forefathers and their father, and lastly by himself. He exhorts him to invite their only uncle to live with him as he has no son :—

Ammâvan tanne marichchupôyâl	" If our uncle dies,
Ambâḍi kôlôtte mênônmâre	" The Menons of Ambadi kovilagam

34 Tuḷunâḍ.—Apparently refers to that part of the present district of S. Kanara nearest to Malabar. The whole district of S. Kanara formed in early days part of Northern Kerala, from Gokarnam to Perumpura, between the modern Kundapur and the Cânñirôttu river.

35 This statement, that it was the *kaḷari* which had the honour of holding the sword in ceremonial processions of the ruling *tambûrân* of Kadattanâḍ, accords with the meaning of *chekam* as service chiefly around the king's person (*vide* Gundert, *Malayâlam-English Dictionary, s.v.*)

36 *Maṇṇalam*, a period of 40 days' ceremonies and practices. These and the foregoing lines give as graphic a description as we can get of the *kalaris*—academies or gymnasia for physical culture and fencing practices, which were a feature of Kerala in the past. These were the centre of interest to the whole locality and people from far and near resorted to them for physical culture and fencing exercises and training in all the arts of warfare. They were also centres of religious worship, as is seen from the many references in this and other songs to the importance of worship at the *kalari*, directions for which are carefully preserved on copper plates, and which should on no account be departed from. Worshippers make offerings at the *kalaris* to the deity that guards over their destinies, the *kalari bharambhar*, or the governing deity. For a fuller description of the *kalari* and the *aṅgam* by the present writer, see *Man in India*, vol. IX, p. 137 f.

Avarvaṅṅu mûḍi chuṭṭukoḷḷaṭṭe	" Let them come and cremate.
Avitêyum chennu paṛakavêṇam	" You should go and tell them.
Ila pula nannâyi kaṛichchukoḷḷu	" And let the obsequies be duly performed,
Panchavâdyaṅṅaḷum kôlâhalam	" With music and processions,
Ârpu viḷiyum naṭaveṭiyum	" With shouts and firing of guns :
Âghôshamôḍa kaṛikkavêṅam	" Let it be done with great pomp."

Then he gives directions as to how he should proceed in case of the death of their father and mother. Lastly, he safeguards the interests of their only sister :—

Namukkûme onnallo nêrpeṅṅaḷum	" We have but one sister,
Anchuvayassilum kâtum kutti	"In the fifth year was performed the ear-boring,
Eṛu vayassil eruttinâkki,	" Was put to school at seven,
Eṛuttum payaṛṛum paṭhichavale,	" And was well educated and trained in fencing,
Eṭṭu[37] vayassil muṭiyumkeṭṭi,	" And her hair tied at eight years.
Vidyakalokke tikaññavalkke	" She had completed her education
Âṛṛummaṇammele Kunhiraman	" When Kunhiraman of Aṛṛummanammel
Pattu[38] vayassil kuḷichu keṭṭi	" Married her in her tenth year,
Neḍumangalyam[39] vechu konḍupôyi	" Tying the *tâli* of long married life, and took her away.
Nûṛonnu[40] achchâram chollîṛṛunḍu	" One hundred and one guarantees have been given,
Nammaḷum âyirattonnu achchâram chollîṛṛunḍu,	" And we on our side have given one thousand and one,
Âyirattonniṛṛe veṇma ponnum	" And their value in gold
Tulâmtûkki patṛamkoṭuttiṭṭunḍu	" Has been measured and given ;
Pasuvin kiṭâvine koṭuttiṭṭunḍu	" And a cow and calf have been given.
Nalpattiranḍallo katti chêkôn	" Of the forty-two armed *chekons*,
Atilume nâlâle koṭuttiṭṭunḍu	" Four have been given.
Avaḷum vaṛakkumâyi vannu pôyâl	" Should she disagree [with him] and come away,
Cholliṛṛullatu koṭukkavêṇam	" What we have agreed to must be given.
Pinne vaṛakkumâyi vannupôyâl	" If she should return,
Annette mûnnamane varuttikkôḷu	" Send for the intermediary of the day
Kayyum kanakum paraññukoḷḷu	" And settle accounts and details,
Nûlâchârattêyum vâṅṅikkoḷḷu	" And agree to the divorce.
Kâśâleviśam oṛikkarute	" Don't give up even a pie."

(To be continued.)

[37] Girls do not tie up their hair till they are about 8 years of age. Though even then their hair will be scarcely sufficient to be done up in knots, it is begun to be simply tied up with string from that age.

[38] This furnishes clear evidence of the *tâli* having once formed the essential part of marriage among the Tiyars, the *tâli* being tied by the bridegroom himself on the wedding day. This was no doubt departed from in later days, under what circumstances it is difficult to say for certain at this distance of time, until the *tâlikeṭṭu* came to be considered as a separate ceremony to be performed on every girl before puberty and before marriage. The use of the simple word *keṭṭi*, which literally means "tied," to denote "married" is most significant, as it clearly shows that marriage consisted in tying the *tâli*. For a fuller treatment of the subject of *tâli keṭṭu Kalyanam* by the present writer, see *Man in India*, vol. IX, pages 116-130.

[39] *Nedumangalyam*=the string of a *tali*, being metaphoric of long married life.

[40] *Achchâram*=earnest money, advance given to ratify a bargain [Gundert, p. 9]. Here it means, guarantees given by either party lest the wife be divorced without sufficient reasons or lest she should leave her husband of her own accord. It will appear that it was the custom to give *stri-dhanam*, or bride price, along with the bride.

MISCELLANEA.

THE MATHURÂ PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II, G. E. 61.

This inscription, which has not yet been edited, has been engraved on a pillar which was originally inserted in a wall situated in the Chandul Mandul Baghichi near Raṅgeśvara Mahâdeva temple near Muttra. It was discovered there by one Bholânâth, but has now been deposited in the Muttra Museum. The characters belong to the early Gupta period, when they were practically identical with those of the Kushâṇa records. Most of the letters are so very similar that it would have been well-nigh impossible to say that ours was a Gupta and not a Kushâṇa record, if it had not contained the name of a Gupta king. The inscription belongs to the reign of Chandragupta, son of Samudragupta. The date of the inscription is 61, which of course has to be referred to the Gupta era. The earliest date we had so far for Chandragupta II is G. E. 82. The date furnished by this epigraph is thus 21 years earlier. It also sheds some light on the length of his reign. For, the latest date for this Gupta sovereign is 93; this shows that Chandragupta II had a reign of at least 32 years.

After the specification of the date, the inscription introduces us to a list of Mâhêśvara teachers extending over four generations represented by Parâśara, Kapila, Upamita and Uditâchârya. This last, again, is specifically mentioned as *daśama*, or tenth in succession from Kuśika, who, it seems, must have been the founder of a line of teachers, though he may not have originated any new doctrine or sect. Further, it should be noted that, while Udita is called merely an *Ârya*, his three immediate predecessors, as well as Kuśika, have received the supreme designation of *Bhagavat*, which is generally associated with personages supposed to have attained to the rank of divinity. The object of the inscription is to record that Uditâchârya established two images called Kapileśvara and Upamiteśvara, evidently in the name of Kapila and Upamita, his two immediate predecessors, in the *gurvv-âyatana*. The word *îśvara*, which forms part of the two names just referred to, shows that it was *liṅgas* that were installed; and *gurvv-âyatana* can only mean "the teacher's shrine." As none of the *gurus* of the line to which Uditâchârya appertained was then alive, the *gurvv-âyatana* can only denote the place where the memorials of the *gurus* were established. The inference is thus reasonable that *gurvv-âyatana* was a place where *liṅgas* were installed in the name of all the teachers who preceded Uditâchârya. The *gurvv-âyatana* of our record was thus a shrine which contained the *liṅgas* set up to the memory of the *gurus* of the lineage to which Uditâchârya belonged : and it may safely be assumed that these *liṅgas* were not only named after the *gurus*, but bore their portraits also.

The name Kuśika, who was possibly the founder of this line of teachers, is interesting. Who could this Kuśika be ? Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar had long ago proved from a passage common to both the *Vâyû* and *Liṅga-purâṇa* that Lakulîśa was the last incarnation of Mahêśvara, and that he had four ascetic disciples, namely, Kuśika, Gârgya, Mitra and Kaurushya. This information is strikingly corroborated by the Cintra *praśasti* of the reign of the Chaulukya ruler Sâraṅgadeva (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 271 ff.) where the order of the names runs thus : Kuśika, Gârgya, Kaurushya and Maitreya. The *praśasti* further tells us that these four disciples of Lakuli were founders of four lines amongst the Pâśupatas, and even gives the names of three *âchâryas* or teachers belonging to the line of Gârgya, the second pupil of Lakuli. And now it is the new Muttra inscription which throws light upon the line of teachers or *âchâryas* that was founded by Kuśika, the first disciple of Lakuli. It appears that, while the descendants of Gârgya established themselves at Somanâtha in Kâṭhîâwâr, those of Kuśika were settled at Mathurâ.

If the teachers mentioned in this Muttra inscription thus belonged to the Lakulîśa sect, it clears up two or three obscure points of the record. The first is how the *liṅgas*, if they were installed as memorials to Upamita and Kapila, could also contain their portraits. The second point is why all the dead teachers of this line are styled *bhagavat*. The third is why the living teacher Uditâchârya is called *Ârya*.

In the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, 1906-7, Prof. Bhandarkar contributed a paper on Lakulîśa, where, with the help of copious illustrations, he was able to point out the figure of Lakuli sculptured on door jambs, friezes of shrines, on the outside walls of temples, or as separate independent sculptures, as a human being, invariably with two hands, but with his characteristic signs, namely, a *lakula*, or staff, in his left hand and a citron in his right. There are, moreover, two representations of him which are similar, and they are both found at Karvan, the place where this last incarnation of Śiva came off and passed away. Here, there are two *liṅgas* with portraits of Lakuli sculptured on them. It will thus be seen that the Śiva *liṅga* has been combined with the representation of Lakuli into an image. It is, therefore, not at all unreasonable to suppose that even in the case of Upamiteśvara and Kapileśvara we have not mere Śiva *liṅgas* set up here, but rather *liṅgas* with portraits of Upamita and Kapila carved on them, as is the case with Lakuli in the two images of Karvan.

Next, Upamita and Kapila, being descendants of Kuśika, must have been experts in the Pâśupata *yoga*. We have, therefore, to presume that they

must have passed away like yogîs by driving their *prâṇa-vâyu* through the *brahma-randhra.* They must have thereby merged into the godhead of Śiva. This alone can explain why all these departed ascetics of the Lakuli sect have received the divine title of *bhagavat.*

Lastly, the teacher, Uditâchârya, who is still living and who is not yet absorbed into Śiva, is not, and, in fact, cannot be honoured with this supreme title. Hence he is styled merely *Ârya,* which means "a master, an owner"; and both the meanings fit in well with regard to Uditâchârya.

There now remains only one point to be considered,—the date of Lakulîśa. Uditâchârya, we know, was tenth in descent from Kuśika, pupil of Lakuli. Uditâchârya thus belonged to the eleventh generation from Lakuli. Uditâchârya's date, that is, the date of the inscription, is G. E. 61=380-81 A.D. If now we allot 25 years to each generation, we have to assign Lakuli to 105-130 A.D., a date which agrees pretty closely with the view which Prof. Bhandarkar expressed twenty-four years ago.

N. R.

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE MAHÂBHÂRATA. a Critical Edition, by Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR and others. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

In the two fascicules before us, namely, IV and V, we have *adhyâyas* 54 to 90 in the one, and 90 to 149 in the other. These take us through a little more than half of the first book of the *Âdiparvam.* The important features exhibited in this portion, according to the editor, are the extensive divergence between the northern and southern versions in regard to the arrangement of the chapters and groups of chapters, and next the variation in quantity, the southern version so-called showing vast additions to the text. Dr. Sukthankar apparently takes the Kumbhakonam edition of the *Mahâbhârata* as representative of the versions prevalent in the south, and it must be remembered that his criticism of the southern version is on this basis. We shall revert to this particular later.

The first point of importance to notice is in the description of the ancestry of the heroes of the *Mahâbhârata.* The first important change noticed is that, in the northern version, the Śakuntalâ episode and the history of Bharata come in first, and the chapter relating to the life history of Yayâti comes later; whereas in the southern version *Yayâti's* history is described first, and the story of Śakuntalâ follows later. The editor certainly does find that the linking of the story of Yayâti with the story of Śakuntalâ previous to it leaves something to be desired. The story passes on from that of Śankutalâ and her son Bharata ostensibly to the history of Yayâti, but it recommences with the ancestors of Yayâti, giving a history of the solar dynasty from Prajâpati to Yayâti. While the southern versions place the history of the solar dynasty first and the story of Yayâti next, followed by the story of Śakuntalâ, the northern recension places the story of Śakuntalâ first, then comes the story of Yayâti, and into it is thrown the account of the Sûryavaṁśa. Naturally there is a great difference between the two. But the actual question is, which is the original, and which is the manipulated arrangement? In regard to length, the Śakuntalâ episode alone extends to 590 stanzas in the southern, or the Kumbhakonam edition, while the number of stanzas in the northern versions comes to somewhere about 325. The editor acknowledges the difficulty in adjudging whether the version containing the additions or the abbreviated one is the later, as the actual manipulation of the text could have taken either direction. But from certain other particulars that he notices he comes to the conclusion that the southern is the manipulated edition. While recognising that the northern edition is not altogether free from flagrant additions and alterations, the southern version has to prove its claim, according to him, in every case, where its text differs from the northern.

In the note prefixed to the fifth fascicule, which contains chapters 96 to 161 of the Vulgate texts, and deals with the early life history of the Pâṇḍavas and the Kauravas, Dr. Sukthankar points out that the constituted text, according to the principles hitherto adopted, follows closely what he calls the Kâshmîrî text. This text, so far as the Bhandarkar edition is concerned, is based on a very early Śârada manuscript, which is quite imperfect. But another Kâshmîrî manuscript preserved in the India Office Library is found, on a critical comparison, to follow the Śârada text wherever it is possible to make useful comparisons. Hence the editor has no doubt that the more modern Devanâgarî manuscript at the India Office represents more or less the orthodox Kâshmîrî tradition in regard to the *Mahâbhârata* text, which is indicated by the early but incomplete Śârada manuscript. He had already indicated in the previous fascicule (fasc. III) that the actual length given to the *Âdiparvam* differs in the Śârada text, and agrees with the shortest enumeration he had as yet found in the northern versions; and the result of a detailed critical examination of the text gives evidence of a very close approximation to the Kâshmîrî text. This is so far satisfactory, and the similarity between the constituted text, and the Kâshmîrî recension is far more close than mere accidental coincidence would account for. He finds the variations between the constituted text and the southern version certainly very great. He convicts the southern version

therefore of purposeful tampering with and alteration of the text, and regards it as altogether undependable for any purpose of textual criticism. He refers particularly to the politics chapter called *Kaṇikanîti* (*Adhyâya* 140 of the Bombay edition), which he thinks ought to be omitted when it occurs in the *Âdiparvan*, regarding it as a later addition. On such comparison as he has been able to make, the editor has come to certain definite conclusions, which may be stated in his own words: "Now it would not do to form some *a priori* hypothesis as to the interrelationship of the versions and fix the text in terms of some preconceived notion about it. The study of the documents themselves must teach us what their interrelationship is, and they unmistakably indicate that this interrelationship is of a very complex character. In fact, I am now fully persuaded that with the epic texts as preserved in the extant *Mahâbhârata* manuscripts we stand at the wrong end of a long chain of successive syntheses of divergent texts carried out in a haphazard fashion through centuries of diaskeuastic activities; and that with the possible exception of the Kâshmîrî version all other versions are indiscriminately conflated." While we may acknowledge readily the sincerity and care with which this far-reaching conclusion has been built up, we must point out, at any rate so far as the southern version is concerned, the editor has been reckoning all the while without the host. The Kumbhakonam edition of the *Mahâbhârata* is anything but typical of the southern version, and if it is actually typical of anything, it is only typical of "a carelessly guarded fluid text" of the epic. We think it is the most comprehensive edition, which took in all that claims to be part of the text of the *Mahâbhârata*. We are disappointed that the *Grantha* text issued first from a village near Tanjore and subsequently from a village near Kumbhakonam, which was based upon much more reliable manuscript material, is not altogether free, as we are informed, from textual corruption owing to the adoption of parts from the printed versions, the responsible editors having allowed themselves to be carried off the track by a false notion that complete exclusion of parts was likely to prove prejudicial to the authority of their texts.

A more or less typical southern text has yet to be provided, and for that we shall have to go back to rather earlier than later versions of the *Mahâbhârata* text available in South India. We are on the eve of a southern recension more representative of the south than anything so far published, and we must say the time is not yet for any far-reaching conclusions in regard to the southern version of the *Mahâbhârata*.

S. K. AIYANGAR.

THE MAHÂBHÂRATA: THE SOUTHERN RECENSION critically edited by P. P. Sastri, Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Madras.

ÂDIPARVAN, Part I. Published by Messrs. V. RAMASWAMI SASTRULU AND SONS, Esplanade, Madras.

This is an edition of the *Âdiparvan* of the *Mahâbhârata* and contains the first 137 chapters of the first book covering a little more than half of the book, as according to the southern version, the whole of this book consists of only 218 *adhyâyas*, as against 227 of the Bombay edition. This edition sets before itself the very desirable object of bringing out an authoritative southern recension of the *Mahâbhârata*. As *Mahâbhârata* students know, and those that are interested in the authoritative critical edition being brought out by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute must by now know, there are important differences in the various versions or recensions of the epic. Among them we can distinguish a certain number from their peculiarity and their importance. *Mahâbhârata* criticism is fairly clear as to a Kâshmîrî version, a Bengali version, a southern version and what might perhaps be called a Devanâgarî version including in it the rest of the geographical area of India more or less roughly. In the course of the work, as far as it has advanced, it is found that as between these recensions there are differences and similarities, and in the reconstitution of the text of the *Mahâbhârata* on a basis of criticism—the eclectic criticism adopted by the editorial board of the All India edition—the southern recension comes to occupy an important place. The question would at once be asked, what is the southern recension? The Kumbhakonam edition is far from being the southern recension. Although it is said to be based on southern manuscripts, so much has been imported from outside, even from the printed editions, that it has ceased to be southern, except to the extent of its emanating from the south. The *Grantha* version issued from Sarfojîrâjapuram and Uppiliappankoil, though much better in point of textual authority, cannot be said to be altogether free from this kind of corruption. There are numbers of manuscripts in the Tanjore Palace Library, and they are of all kinds. The *Grantha* manuscripts seem to stand out distinctly from all these.

The editor of this particular southern recension proceeds to his work on the basis of manuscript authority, and among them four *Grantha* manuscripts to which reference is made in the work are of the highest authority. Of these, one marked 11860 is considered by the editor, on a comparison of manuscripts, to be so far the best, and that it has been made the basal text for this publication. The other manuscripts are used for comparison, and their readings, wherever they are of sufficient importance, are indicated in footnotes, so that

it may be said frankly that this is an edition based on *Grantha* manuscripts reaching back to pre-Mahratta days in Tanjore, when for a century beginning with the first quarter of the sixteenth, there was an enlightened dynasty of Vijayanagar viceroys, who were generally scholars, and far more than that, were patrons of great scholars. The manuscript tradition therefore of that particular period acquires very considerable authority on this ground alone. A casual comparison of this edition with the first five fascicules of the constituted text of the Bhandarkar edition, which has already reached the end of the 149th chapter of the first book, shows that this southern recension comes very close to the edition issued on the basis of the eclectic criticism adopted by the editorial board of that edition. As the editor has pointed out in the foreword prefixed to some of these fascicules, the most reliable version seems to be that of Kashmîr, which he adopts more or less, and the one other recension that he compares with it is the southern; the Bengali and the southern recensions sometimes agree closely and stand out distinctly from the rest. It is therefore not a day too soon that something like a carefully edited and authoritative southern recension was brought out. The enterprise of Messrs. Ramaswami Sastrulu and Sons, and its present proprietor, Mr. V. Venkateswara Sastrulu, the son of the proprietor whose name the firm bears, deserves all commendation. The editor, Mr. P. P. S. Sastri, Professor of Sanskrit in the Presidency College, has already shown energy and enthusiasm in this kind of work by the publication of the Catalogue of the Tanjore Manuscripts Library, of which nine volumes have been issued so far. The discovery of these important *Grantha* manuscripts is due to that cataloguing, although we see that three out of the four manuscripts that are made use of primarily are among those used by the Bhandarkar Institute editors. We only hope that neither the publisher nor the editor will let their enthusiasm cool before they bring out a complete edition, of which this gives but the foretaste. We are assured that the second part is almost ready for issue, and with that the first book will be finished.* At this rate of progress, we may well expect the complete work in our hands in the near future; and, apart from other benefits accruing therefrom, the publication of this edition will certainly be of great assistance to the work on the critical edition. Similar work would be welcome on the more important of the other recensions, such as, for instance, the Bengali recension, or the Kâshmîrî recension, or even of some groups of the Devanâgarî manuscripts that may permit of local grouping as being homogeneous. Bengal may perhaps attempt this, and let us hope others will follow.

In one of the prefatory notes to the later fascicules of the Bhandarkar edition, the editor has arrived at some far-reaching conclusions regarding the southern version, which, if justified by manuscript authority, would give the particular direction to *Mahâbhârata* studies and even *Mahâbhârata* scholarship which has already attained a certain amount of vogue, but which to us seems hardly justified by the material at our disposal as yet. The *Mahâbhârata* seems to have produced a deep impression upon non-Sanskritic peoples, and one peculiarity of all the literature in the South Indian languages is that almost each one of them seems to claim as its first great work a translation of the *Mahâbhârata*. The *Mahâbhârata* of Nannayya Bhaṭṭa in Telugu stands an unrivalled classic. The *Pampa Bhârata* enjoys a similar eminence, if not the same degree of priority. The Malayâlam *Bhârata* has almost as high a reputation as the Telugu work. The Tamil *Bhâratam* is an early work also, and if the evidence of a late Pâṇḍya charter of the tenth century is accepted as authoritative, the rendering of the *Mahâbhârata* into Tamil takes rank with the establishment of the Śaṅgam, the traditional Tamil Śaṅgam, in Madura. We have references to two other versions, which are datable :—Perumdêvanâr's *Bhâratavenbâ* in the middle of the ninth century and Villiputtûrâr's *Bhâratam* of the fourteenth century or a little later, and a still later one, Nalla Pillai's *Bhâratam*, which completes Villiputtûrâr's. The Javanese *Bhârata* is said to be based on the southern recension, and therefore the expansion towards the east of the *Mahâbhârata* culture is traceable to the Tamil version, or it may be the southern Sanskrit recension. The version of the *Bhârata* referred to in the copper-plate charter mentioneed above is different from these and of a much earlier date, a date anterior to 300 A.D. A comparison of these versions with a native southern version would have its own value; but that is not our point at present.

One can trace in inscriptions grants made from time to time for the reading of the *Mahâbhârata* in temples and sometimes even in villages. In many cases where educational grants were made or educational institutions are referred to, we find that the study of the *Mahâbhârata* constituted a branch of these institutions. The cultivation of the study of the *Mahâbhârata* seems to have been pursued systematically, and the tradition handed down, even of the text after it had been committed to writing, may be regarded as having been more steadily continuous than in any other case, excepting of course the Vedas and Vaidik literature. Does this not argue the continuous preservation of the *Mahâbhârata* tradition in a correct southern recension and the bearing thereof upon the authoritative *Mahâbhârata* text, whenever that authoritative text becomes actually possible. It is in that view that we welcome this publication.

S. K. AIYANGAR.

* Three parts are already out bringing the work to the end of the second book, *Sabhâ Parva*.—S. K. A.

ANTIQUITY OF THE JAIN SECTS.

BY PURAN CHAND NAHAR, M.A., CALCUTTA.

MY " Note on the Śvetâmbara and Digambara Sects," which appeared in the September issue of the *Indian Antiquary* for 1929, was written mainly with the object of bringing to the notice of scholars various problems connected with the antiquity and origin of the two major Jain sects, which still await investigation. From the further note on the subject which has appeared in the same Journal for August 1930, it is gratifying to see that Mr. K. P. Jain, a learned Digambarî scholar, has taken up the task. I am confident that, provided the work is done in a thoroughly scientific spirit, free from sectarian bias, the origin of the two sects may be cleared up satisfactorily. I need hardly add that as my paper only briefly indicated the lines of enquiry, it neither supplied complete references nor presumed to speak the last word on the subject in scientific research. Holding opposite views, Mr. Jain rejects my conclusions on the ground that they are not based on reliable references. I regret to notice, on the other hand, that the references and interpretations of texts quoted by him are not always satisfactory, nor has he done me justice in his analysis of my views on the following points :—

(a) Nudity.

Mr. K. P. Jain thinks that I contend that " because the Śvetâmbaras hold that all the predecessors of Mahâvîra Tîrthaṅkara wore clothes, the idea of nudity was preached by the last Tîrthaṅkara for the first time." In controverting my supposed views on the point, Mr. Jain cites references from the Ṛig-veda and from Brahmanical and Buddhist literature to prove that nudity was an ancient institution in India and that the early Jain monks, from the days of Ṛishabhadeva down to Mahâvîra, were naked. I would point out that the conclusion drawn from my views does not logically follow from my statement that " the Jain ascetics of the period of Pârśvanâtha and those of his predecessors used to wear clothes and that it was only at a later period, during the régime of Mahâvîra, that the fashion of discarding clothes had its origin, perhaps due to the prevalence of extreme asceticism at the time." Though Ṛishabhadeva discarded clothes after he had been an ascetic for some time, the rules promulgated by him permitted Jain ascetics to use one to three garments.[1] It is also stated that the Sâdhus of the period of 22 Tîrthaṅkaras between Ṛishabha and Mahâvîra used to wear garments of all colours.[2] Mahâvîra, who gave up clothes after 13 months of ascetic life, made it a rule that only white garments should be used by Sâdhus.[3] The latter sanctioned nudity only to the order of Jinakalpî Sâdhus, who were required to forsake human habitations and practise their austerities outside villages and towns. If Mr. Jain admits the authority of the *Kalpasûtra* on the nudity of Ṛishabhadeva, he should in fairness admit it for other statements made therein, if not for other Śvetâmbara texts.

The fact that the 22 Tîrthaṅkaras succeeding Ṛishabha as well as the ascetics of their time were accustomed to wear clothes, proves that before the days of Mahâvîra it was unusual for the Jain monks to go about naked. Pârśva allowed his disciples to wear an upper and an under garment.[4] In the *Mahâvîra-caritra* of Hemachandra, Gosâla Makkhaliputta, a contemporary of the Buddha and Mahâvîra, defends the precept of nakedness against the pupils of Pârśva and " gets beaten, and almost killed by the women of a village in Magadha,

[1] See *Âchârâṅga Sûtra, S.B.E.*, vol. XXII, pp. 67 (Fourth Lesson, etc.). London. 1884.

[2] See *Kalpasûtram*, D. L. Fund Series No. 61. Bombay. 1923. (2nd Edition), p. 2 ff. :

अजितादि द्वाविंशति जिनतीर्थ साधूनां ऋजुप्रज्ञानां
बहुमूल्य विविध वर्ण वस्त्र परिभोगनुज्ञा सद्भावेन, etc.

[3] *Ibid.* :

श्रीऋषभवीर तीर्थ यतीनां च सर्वेषामपि श्वेत मानोपेत
जीर्णप्राय वस्त्र धारित्वेन अचेलकत्वम्

[4] *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I (1922), pp. 154-55; Ramaprasad Chanda, *Annual Report, A.S.I.*, 1925-26, pp. 176-77.

because he was a naked Śramaṇa or mendicant."[5] This proves that nudity was not practised by all Jain monks even in the days of Mahâvîra.

Scholars are agreed that the institution of nudity was first emphasised by Mahâvîra within the Jain church, but "this distinction did not lead to serious schism in the Jaina community till six hundred years later."[6] We are told, besides, that "a prince whose father he (Udayin the king of Magadha) had dethroned plotted against his (Udayin's) life; and aware of the welcome accorded to the Jains by Udayin, he entered his palace in the disguise of a Jain monk, and murdered him in the night."[7] It goes without saying that the person of a nude monk affords neither any scope for disguise, nor any protection against detection. As this happened sixty years after the *nirvâṇa* of Mahâvîra, the custom of wearing clothes by Jain monks does not seem to have disappeared at that time.

The main point we are to consider is this, whether nudity was a compulsory rule of conduct among the Jain monks generally, or whether it was practised by the Jinakalpî Sâdhus only and by Mahâvîra during the latter stages of his asceticism. Now, from the available data at our disposal we are unmistakably led to the latter conclusion. From the Hâthigumphâ inscriptions of the second century B.C. we find King Khâravela of Orissa giving away clothes to Jain monks.[8] Mathurâ sculptures of the first century also present scenes where monks are seen holding clothes.[9] These are historical facts of first class importance, and we need not seriously consider the curious views Mr. Jain has about the Mathurâ antiquities. The contention that "the inscriptions of the Śvetâmbara Gaṇas, etc.," have been "inscribed on the Digambara or naked images" may be merely the orthodox Digambara standpoint, but has no basis in fact. They do not show "a topsy-turvy condition of the Jaina Saṅgha at the time." On the contrary, "the inscriptions are replete with information as to the organisation of the Jain church in sections known as Gaṇa, Kula, and Śâkhâ, and supply excellent illustrations of the Jain books."[10] Mr. Jain also states that "The Mathurâ antiquities are only about a century older than the date on which the Jaina Saṅgha separated into two sects, and they might show signs of the Śvetâmbara origin at the time." It is therefore conclusive from Mr. Jain's own statement that the Śvetâmbara beliefs and traditions existed in the Jain church long before the formal separation.

Mr. Jain further cites the *munayo vâtavasanas* mentioned in the Ṛig-veda (X, 136. 2) and refers to Weber's identification of the Indian gymnosophists of the time of Alexander the Great with Digambara Jains. I must point out that the texts[11] give the reading *vâta-raśana* and not *vâtavasana* as misquoted by Mr. Jain, the word being translated "wind-girt" and not "wind-clad." According to Macdonell and Keith, the term is applied to *Munis* in the Ṛig-veda (X, 136. 2) and to Ṛishis in the *Taittirîya-Âraṇyaka* (I, 23. 2; 24. 4; II, 7. 1), both late texts.[12] Mr. Jain does not, however, tell us if he can trace the origin of the Digambara sect from Vedic Munis and Ṛishis. Weber was not right in taking these to be Digambaras, as there are naked Śivaite Sâdhus even to this day, according to his own statement. Similarly erroneous is his identification of the naked ascetics interviewed by Onesicritus at Taxila, one of whom eventually took to clothes and accompanied Alexander on his journey back to Persia.[13] Mr. Jain also cites various Brahmanical texts in which Jain monks are designated as naked recluses. These texts are mostly of later dates, and sometimes

[5] Wilson's Works, vol. I, p. 294, quoted by H. Jacobi in *I.A.*, vol. IX, pp. 161-62; Banerji-Sastri, *JBORS.*, vol. XII, pp. 53-62.

[6] *Jain Yuga*, vol. II, p. 53. R. A. F. Hoernle, *JASB.*, 1898, pp. 40-41; J. Charpentier, *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, 1922, pp. 154-55; Ramaprasad Chanda, *Annual Report, A.S.I.*, 1925-26, pp. 176-77.

[7] *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I (1922), p. 164.

[8] K. P. Jayaswal, *Nâgarî Prachâriṇî Patrikâ*, vol. X, p. 501.

[9] V. Smith, *Jain Stupa and other Antiquities of Mathura*, p. 24, pl. XXVII.

[10] *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 6.

[11] Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. II, p. 284.

[12] *C.H.I.*, vol. I, pp. 77-78.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 358-9.

unreliable. Their testimony, therefore, on the history of the two Jain sects is hardly helpful, and even as such the references have not all been correctly gathered.

The passage cited from the *Vishṇu-purâṇa*, for instance, mentions ascetics "who go clothed in much raiment" as well as those "who go naked."[14] That Śaṅkara's (788-850 A.D.) reference to the Jains is confined only to the *vivasana-samaya*,[15] is explained by the fact that he came from South India,[16] where the Digambaras were prominent, as may be gathered from the itinerary of Yuan Chwang. It is to be regretted that Mr. Jain does not quote the relevant passages from the *Mahâbhârata*[17] and *Daśakumâra-carita*, particularly as his references are unsatisfactory.

Among the Buddhist texts quoted by Mr. Jain in support of his statement that the Jains are described as naked monks, there is a passage from the *Mahâvagga* (1. 70. 3), which likens naked Buddhist monks to *Titthiyas*. Mr. Jain comments that the latter "were no doubt, the non-Buddhistic monks belonging to older orders than those of Mahâvîra and Buddha." As their description coincides with that of a Digambara Jaina monk, as described in the Śâstras, he concludes that they were naked monks of the school of Pârśva. I have already shown that the disciples of Pârśva were accustomed to wear clothes and that they argued with Gosâla, one of the six Titthiyas, against nudity. So Mr. Jain's identification of the naked Titthiyas as disciples of Pârśva is untenable. The Buddhist texts, not cognisant of the doctrines of Mahâvîra, include him among the six Titthiyas; but it is well-known that Mahâvîra propounded the *Pañchayama-dharma* as against the *Chaturyama-dharma* of Pârśva,[18] and so the Titthiyas could not have very well belonged to the order of Pârśvanâtha. Another Titthiya was Ajita Keśakambalî who derived his name from the garment made of hair that formed his apparel.[19] A feature of his doctrine was the wearing of coarse garments. The poor fellow could not have been a Digambara. Makkhali Gosâla, the notorious apostate, originally a runaway slave, who had been deprived of his clothes by his master while making his escape, was the leader of the Âjîvika sect; and Mr. Jain's thesis cannot be maintained unless the Digambaras trace their origin from this ascetic who had broken away from his Guru, and identify themselves with the Âjîvikas. Pûraṇa Kassapa, one of the Titthiyas, had been originally a slave who left his master and was robbed of his clothes by thieves, whence he remained in nudity, thinking that as a Digambara he would be better respected. He held the notion that "actions are fatally determined,"[20] which is opposed to Jain theories. It is interesting to note that the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang, who refers to the Digambaras[21] and the white-clad sects,[22] the Nigranthas[23] and the Tîrthikas individually and separately, draws a distinction between them. He mentions 10,000 Tîrthikas in Koṅgoḍa.[24] The Kalanda Veṇuvana had been given to the Tîrthikas.[25] Udra Râmaputta, the ascetic, was a Tîrthika.[26] Ajita Keśakambalî was another.[27] The Deva P'usa is said to have debated with Tîrthikas at Prayâga and Pâṭaliputra.[28] At Tsao-ku-t'a, the Tîrthikas were in the majority, having numerous disciples. They worshipped Shu-na deva who had come from Mt. Aruṇa in Kapisa to the Shu-na-hi-lo mountain in the south of that country.[29] At Malakuṭa, the Kuman-tzu-tsai P'usa, appears to the devotees as Pâśupata Tîrthika, or as Maheśvara.[30] The ash-smearing Śaivas of Palusha are described as Tîrthikas.[31]

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14 H. H. Wilson, *Vishṇupurâṇa* (London, 1844), pp. 338-9.

15 *Vedânta-sûtra*, II, 2. 33; *S.B.E.*, vol. XXXIV, pp. 428-34.

16 J. N. Farquhar, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, pp. 162, 166, 171.

17 For Indra's appearance in disguise as a *Digvâsa*, see E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, pp. 136-37.

18 *I.A.*, vol. IX, pp. 158-73.

19 *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, pp. 311-14.

20 E. J. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha*, p. 207.

21 Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, vol. I, pp. 122-23; II, pp. 63, 154, 184, 224, 226 and 228.

22 *Ibid.*, I, pp. 251-52.

23 *Ibid.*, II, pp. 184, 198.

24 ,, II, p. 196.

25 ,, II, p. 156.

26 ,, II, p. 141.

27 ,, I, p. 393.

28 ,, I, pp. 361-62, II, pp. 100-101.

29 ,, II, p. 265.

30 ,, II, p. 229.

31 ,, I, p. 221.

The Tîrthikas are mentioned as offering *tarpaṇa* in water.[32] In the Chu-li-ya country, where the naked were numerous, the people, who were of a fierce and profligate character, were believers in the Tîrthikas.[33] It follows that Titthiya, or Tîrthika, was a general designation used by Buddhists for ascetics or sects who were heretics from the Buddhist point of view.

Mr. Jain's misapplication of the Buddhist texts is evidently due to his misinterpretation of the term *Nigrantha* as used therein. According to Prof. Jacobi[34] this term originally signified the pre-Buddhistic Jain monks, who, as we have seen, were not accustomed to nudity. Their doctrines were the *Chaturyama-dharma* alluded to in the Sâmaññaphala-Sutta,[35] in Śîlaṅka's commentary on the Âchârâṅga-Sutta and in the text of the Bhagavatî ; but Mahâvîra propounded the *Pañchayama-dharma,* while the Buddhists persisted in calling him *Nigaṇṭha.* As applied to Mahâvîra the term connoted one who had destroyed the *grantha,* the ' bonds ' of worldly cares, and did not refer to his nudity.[36] The Buddhist texts, however, do not use the designation for the Jains alone. It is true that Nigaṇṭha of the Nâtha clan is distinguished from Pûraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosâla, Kachchâyana of the Pakhudha Tree, and Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta.[37] But in the *Divyâvadâna,* a work dating later than 200 A.D.[38] Puraṇo Nirgrantho is mentioned.[39] In the *Mahâvagga,*[40] the disciples of Pûraṇa Kassapa are described as *Nigaṇṭhâ ekasâṭakâ, gihî odâtavasanâ acelakasâvakâ.* Yuan Chwang mentions Nigranthas side by side with Digambaras at Puṇḍravardhana.[41] All these clearly indicate that the Buddhists used this term in a generic sense, denoting religious orders whom they regarded as heretical.

Thus it is clear that the quotation from the *Mahâvagga* cited by Mr. K. P. Jain does not refer to Jain, but to non-Jain monks. But, for the sake of argument, even if we accept that it refers to Digambara Jain monks, the argument of Mr. Jain is hardly tenable. To prove that the Digambaras were the earlier sect of Jains and the Śvetâmbaras a later one, it is not enough to show that certain naked Jain monks existed at a particular period of time. It must also be shown beyond doubt that all Jain monks at and up to that period were naked and clothes were never in use amongst them.

In my original note I stated that the ancient images of the Tîrthaṅkaras consecrated before the division in the church cannot properly be said to belong to any particular sect. But Mr. Jain asserts that at the time of the Hâthigumphâ inscription "only naked images were installed and were under the exclusive management of the Digambaras." I fail to understand how he has come to such a conclusion. There is not a single authority or text which goes to show that only naked images were installed at the time and that such images were under the exclusive control and management of the Digambara sect. But from the internal and external evidence available up till now, it is clear that the differentiation of the Śvetâmbara and Digambara Jain images did not begin during the early centuries of the Christian era. According to Śvetâmbara tradition the distinction between the images of the two sects dates only from the eighth century A.D.,[42] when, as the result of disagreement over

32 Watters, *On Yuan Chwang,* I, pp. 320-21.
33 *Ibid.,* II, p. 224.
34 *I.A.,* vol. IX, pp. 158-63.
35 Grimblot, *Sept Suttas Palis,* p. 126 ; *ibid.,* p. 160 ff.
36 *I.A.,* vol. VIII, p. 313.
37 *Dialogues of the Buddha,* Pt. 2, *S.B.B.,* vol. III, p. 166.
38 J. N. Farquhar, *Outlines of Indian Religious Literature,* p. 108.
39 Cowell & Neil, *Divyâvadâna,* p. 165.
40 *Aṅguttara-Nikâya,* Pt. III (=*Mahâvagga,* LVII, 2), pp. 383-84.
41 Watters, *On Yuan Chwang,* vol. II, p. 184.
42 *Upadeśa-taraṅgiṇî,* Ratnamandira Gaṇi, pp. 248-49.

the Girnâr *tîrtha*, the Śvetâmbaras started the practice of distinguishing their images, standing and seated, by indicating the *añchalika*, or scarf.[43] The Digambaras, on the other hand, insisted on representing the male organ on their images. This is particularly noticeable in their seated images, earlier specimens of which from Mathurâ, true to their non-sectarian character, do not show this particular feature. The modern Digambara images, which similarly hide the male organ from view, as mentioned by Mr. Jain, simply continue this neutral or non-sectarian type. So that his learned comments on the history and iconography of Jain art are untenable on account of his misunderstanding of the facts.

(b) Spiritual Emancipation of Women.

In my original note I have drawn attention to the different views on the spiritual emancipation of women held by the two sects, and have mentioned that such views played an important part in the schism in the Jain church. My contention is that the Śvetâmbaras uphold the authentic and rational views on the point and that the reactionary Digambaras in denying salvation to women have reverted back to old standards of conservatism and biogotry. My thanks are due to Mr. Jain for bringing together references from Vedic and Buddhist texts which satisfactorily illustrate the conservative views held by non-Jain people on the matter. The Buddha's unwillingness to admit women to his monastic order indicates only that he was not altogether proof against those orthodox notions. The existence of bigoted and irrational views on the matter outside the Jain church being established by Mr. Jain, the Digambaras must be held to have made concessions to the conservative tendencies existing among the non-Jain and heterodox sects.

(c) Jain Canons.

With regard to my statement that the Jain canons accepted by the Śvetâmbaras preserve the genuine early Jain tradition, which has been totally discarded by the Digambaras, Mr. Jain only quotes Prof. A. B. Keith on their doubtful authenticity. It is to be regretted that he did not investigate the subject further, nor acquaint himself with the result of the considerable research that has been carried out on the subject.[44] He appears to have contented himself with adopting the sectarian Digambara opinions. He does not stop to consider that the Digambaras, while denying the authenticity of the Śvetâmbara canon, hold the twelve Aṅgas in as high esteem as the latter, the two lists being in close agreement. Nor should we forget that the texts of some of the Śvetâmbara Aṅgas at least, viz., the *Bhagavatî* and the *Jñâta-dharma Kathâ*, *Upâsaka Daśâṅga* and the *Avasyaka-sûtras*, are in daily use among the Digambaras.[45] Mr. Jain does not explain why the story of Harinegameshi, which is proved to be a very early tradition from its representation on a Mathurâ bas-relief,[46] should find mention only in the Śvetâmbara texts and not in any of the Digambara ones. Another case in point relates to the personal history of Mahâvîra, who, according to the Śvetâmbara canon, had been in his early life married to the lady Yashodâ and had a daughter named Priyadarshanâ by her.[47] The Digambara books in their regard for extreme forms of asceticism usually describe him as a celibate all his life. That this is a travesty of truth is proved by the Digambara Jinasena's mention of the marriage ceremony of the 24 Tîrthaṅkaras in the *Harivaṁśa-purâṇa*. I have verified the relevant passages from the

[43] (*a*) W. Cohn, *Indische Plastik*, Berlin, 1922, Tafelen 79, 81.
(*b*) Dr. A. K. Coomarswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, pt. IV, 1924. See figures of Tîrthaṅkaras, represented with *añchalika*.
(*c*) For a standing draped figure of Ajitanâtha (brass) dated V.S. 1110 from Ahmadâbâd, see *I.A.*, vol. LVI, p. 72, and Pl. 1; *Jaina Sâhitya Saṁśodhak*, vol. III, p. 61; A. F. R. Hoernle in *JASB.*, 1898, Pt. I, pp. 47-51.

[44] H. Jacobi, in *I.A.*, vol. IX, p. 161. J. Charpentier, *Intn. to Uttarâdhyâyana Sûtra*, p. 15.

[45] G. Bühler, *I.A.*, vol. VII, pp. 28-29, quoting Bom. Administration Rep., 1875-76.

[46] V. A. Smith, *The Jaina Stupa of Mathura*, Allahabad, 1901, pp. 25-26; Pl. XVIII.

[47] A. F. R. Hoernle, in *JASB.*, 1898, Pt. I, p. 40.

MS. in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It is incomprehensible to me how the Digambaras can be proved to be adherents of the genuine early Jain traditions in spite of their admission that the old canons have been altogether lost. Mr. Jain points out that the rules of conduct for the Śramaṇas (Jain monks) given in the Buddhist *Kassapa Sihanada Sutta* coincide to a word with those given in the Digambara Jain literature, which only indicates the non-Jain origin of some of the Digambara traditions.

(d) Digambaras during Muhammadan Rule.

In support of his assertion that the Digambaras were a flourishing sect during the Muhammadan rule, Mr. Jain mentions the facts that Nainsukhdâs, a Śvetâmbara *paṇḍit,* changed his creed during this period, and that Digambara pontiffs approached Muhammadan sovereigns like Alâu'd-dîn and Aurangzeb, and preached to them Jain doctrines. I need hardly mention that it is unscientific to rush to such conclusions merely from sporadic cases of apostacy in the Śvetâmbara church. The alleged relations between the Digambaras and bigoted Muhammadan sovereigns like Alâu'd-dîn and Aurangzeb cannot be accepted merely on the authority of a text like *Jaina Birudâvali*, unless corroborated from independent Muhammadan sources. On the other hand there is overwhelming evidence of Śvetâmbara influence over the Muhammadan sovereigns and their governors in various parts of Northern India.[48]

I should further draw attention to another fact, that it is only in the existing religious literature of the Digambaras that we find great divergence of views and discrepancies in fixing the birthplaces of Tîrthaṅkaras as well as other important events of their lives. This scepticism is indicative of a period of crisis, of doubt and questioning in the main body of the Jain church, which ultimately led to the separation by the section which refused to acknowledge the authority of the then existing canons. This conflict is nowhere to be found in the Śvetâmbara literature, which points to its adherence to older traditions.

I think I should not dwell upon the subject at greater length. It was only in a spirit of research and further study in this direction that I wrote the note, and these lines are also written with the same object. I hope Mr. K. P. Jain and other scholars will accept my views in the same spirit.

[48] R. G. Bhandarkar, *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in Bombay,* 1883-84, Bom. 1887, p. 126, Hemchandra's *Nâma-mâlâ ;* V. A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Moghul*, Oxford, 1917, pp. 162 n., 166-68 : N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, Bombay, 1926, pp. 21-23, 69-73.

LIFE OF RÛPA BHAWÂNÎ

(A Great Hermitess of Kashmîr).

BY PANDIT ANAND KOUL, ŚRÎNAGAR, KASHMÎR.

DISTANCE of place has undoubtedly a great charm, but distance of time has greater, and when it is associated with the memory of a pious soul, this charm is immeasurably enhanced. A saintly soul's account of life will certainly be appreciated by many in whom tradition is not dead, by many to whom ancient learning and the veneration of ancestors are the breath of life, and by many in whom the gems of literature temper materialism and graft a fine philanthropy upon philosophy.

From the earliest times, Kashmîr was a land of saints and seers of sublime order, who developed in themselves occult powers which beggar description. Despite the lapse of centuries since they lived, they still command public homage and devotion. To their serene, meditative minds speculation in the sphere of metaphysics was always congenial. Anecdotes of their occult powers ever dominated the minds of both men and women throughout the country, shedding a perpetual glamour over the popular sentiments and tending to perpetually renovate mankind.

Amongst them was the famous holy woman named Rûpa Bhawânî, *alias* Alakeshwarî (' the lady with the lock of hair ') so called because she used to leave the hair of her head unplaited or Alak-Ishvarî (incarnation of the Invisible). She was born in S. 1681 (1625 A.D.) Her name has an assured place among holy seers, shedding rays of purity all round. Her father's name was Paṇḍit Mâdho Dhar, and her mother's Sampat Mâjî. The latter came from the Kaul family of Kâwdâra Mahall. Paṇḍit Mâdho Dhar lived on the right bank of the Jhelum river below the 6th Bridge at Śrînagar, close to Paṇḍit Shyâm Sundar Lâl Dhar's house, where at present Paṇḍit Bala Kaul's descendants live, and where there exists still a well sacred to her memory. In him the qualities of virtue and high-mindedness were blended. He used to have philosophical discussions with Sayyid Kamâl, *alias* Ṭhag Bâbâ, a Muhammadan recluse of high order, who lived near his house across the river.

Paṇḍit Mâdho Dhar used to go to the Hari Parvat daily for worship. One day he saw the goddess Shârikâ in a dream, and she asked him what he desired. He told her that he desired nothing but this, that she should deign to take birth in his house as his daughter. The goddess granted his prayer. In course of time, his wife gave birth to a bright little daughter. The baby was named Rûpa Bhawânî. As she grew up, her divine origin manifested itself more and more. The purity and sanctity of her life were conspicuous. Her speech was rapture all and nameless bliss. Some of her sayings have passed into the intellectual currency of the Kâshmîrîs. She was the beau-ideal of all that is pure, gentle and spiritualistic. She was a paragon of virtue and wisdom—the glory of her sex.

One day Rûpa Bhawânî, when she was only 2½ years old, was carried by a female servant to give a present to Ṛishi Pîr[1] (a renowned ascetic of Kashmîr) on his birthday. She gave him the present, but did not approve of his performing miracles, which made him famous, as great saints, she said, shunned show and publicity and remained in secrecy in absolute communion with God. She, therefore, regretfully remarked : *Ṛishis piyeyih tembrâ, parantu ohnojan gayes*, meaning that a spark (of revelation) had fallen on Ṛishi Pîr, but it had gone the wrong way down his throat. Ṛishi Pîr, on seeing her and hearing her remark, bowed down before her.

While yet but seven years old, she was married to a young man named Paṇḍit Shyâm Sundar, son of Chatur Paṇḍit of the Sapru family living at Saparityâr (2nd Bridge) at Śrînagar.

Rûpa Bhawânî's mother-in-law was, like that of Lall Dêd[2] the prophetess, noted for relentless cruelty and was a stumbling block to her happiness. Rûpa Bhawânî used to go,

1 See the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. LX, pp. 95-98, 123-127.

2 See the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. L (1921), pp. 302-308, 309-312, vol. LIX (1930), pp. 108-113, 127-130, vol. LX (1931), pp. 191-193, and vol. LXI (1932), pp. 13-16.

in the first grey of the morning to Hari Parvat for worship, and even for this absurd and scandalous whispers, born of sheer malice and hatred, were circulated by her cranky mother-in-law. Once her husband was, at his mother's instructions, sent after her as a spy to see where she was actually going so early in the morning. He followed her and watched her from a distance. When she was returning, near the place called Parankanih, to the south of the Hari Parvat hill, she looked behind and saw her husband following her like a spy. She was naturally offended at this, and a prayer fell from her lips that the Sapru family might never thrive. And this family has actually not thriven since, there being very few people belonging to it in the whole Valley of Kashmîr.

Once on the Khitsimâvas[3] day Rûpa Bhawânî's parents sent a pot full of *pilâv* (cooked rice and meat with spices) to her husband's house. Her mother-in-law, far from being pleased, began to grumble that the *pilâv* was insufficient to feed all the family members and relations. Rûpa Bhawânî, however, covered the pot with a cloth and meekly requested her to begin distributing its contents. She began giving platefuls out of it, but lo ! it would not empty. When all were served, Rûpa Bhawânî lifted the cloth and it was then empty. Yet her mother-in-law's anger was not appeased. She told Rûpa Bhawânî peevishly to remove the empty pot from her sight. She took it to the *ghâṭ* and let it float down the river. It reached the *ghâṭ* of her parents while her father happened to be bathing there. He recognised the pot as his own and, catching it, took it home.

Rûpa Bhawânî led her hermitical life at Wastarwan for 12½ years, then at Chashma-i-Sâhibî for another period of 12½ years and then in a forest in the Lâr *pargana* for another 12 years. The *lambardâr* of the village of Maingâm, named Lâl Chand, was informed by some boys that they had seen an ascetic at a cranny in the neighbouring forest. He went with them and saw her, and at his request she came and lived in his house for six months. She then left this house and stayed on the bank of the Sindh River at the same village for another period of 12½ years. Here she planted a *chinâr* tree, which is still there. At all the above places she performed austere penances. While at Maingâm, she used occasionally to float down the Sindh river on a piece of matting to Qasba Lâr village, where Shâh Sâdiq Qalandar (a great Muhammadan philomath) used to reside, and there she used to converse on religious topics with him. Once he said to her : " Rupa Dedi ! If you come to our side (i.e., become a convert to Islâm) you will become gold in place of Rûp (' silver ')." To this she replied : " Shâh Sâdiq ! If you come to our side (become a Hindu at heart) you will become Mokta (' pearl,' or ' having attained salvation ') in place of [shi] Shâh (' glass ')." At another time, when Shâh Sâdiq Qalandar saw her, she was dressed in a garment dyed crimson. He asked her what colour her garment was. She replied : " *Zâg, surath, tah mazeth.*" These words have a two-fold meaning, the one literal and the other mystical, namely (1) ' vitriol, safflower and madder ' (*Rubia cordifolia*, Linn.) and (2) ' be awake, catch Him (God) and do not extend ' (in this world).

Rûpa Bhawânî removed from Maingâm to Ripur[4] just above the hermitage of Shâh Sâdiq Qalandar, where she performed austere penances for another period of 12½ years. After that she left one of her female servants, named Jaman Dēd (whose own house was at Qasba Lâr), in charge of this place and went to Vâsakur village, near Sumbal. Kastûrmâjî was another female servant of hers, who belonged to the same family as Aita Shâh Malang,[5] one of the esoteric disciples of Ṛishi Pîr. She was a widow and had only a young son, named Râma Chandra Matu, with her. Rûpa Bhawânî took her together with her son to Vâsakur. At this place she remained for 25 years. Here she had a well sunk by a blind potter, whose

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[3] This Festival falls on the *Amâvasya* of the month of Puṣya. In every Brâhmaṇ's house *khichṛî* is cooked on the evening of this day, and a plateful kept outside in the compound for the god Kuvera.

[4] Noted for vineyards which produce the best grapes in Kashmîr.

[5] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. LX, pp. 95-98, 123-127.

eyesight became miraculously restored as soon as water level was reached in the well. This potter's descendants still live at Vâsakur.

Rûpa Bhawânî had a brother named Lâll Dhar, whose son, Bâla Dhar, lived with Rûpa Bhawânî at Vâsakur. This youth remained illiterate till he was 22 years of age. One day his father rebuked him for his illiteracy. Stung with remorse he wept bitterly. Rûpa Bhawânî, however, consoled him and gave him a pen made from a pomegranate twig, ink made with charcoal and some paper, and bade him write an application for employment to Aurangzeb, the then emperor at Delhi. He obeyed and, wonderful to relate, wrote it admirably and in the best Persian diction. The Emperor, who was pleased with its style and handwriting, appointed him to a post at Delhi, which he took up, and held with great credit. After some time he sent a letter composed in verse to his sister, Rûpa Bhawânî. She also sent him a reply in verse. Both these letters are reproduced below.

عرضِ حال بال دهر که از مقام دهلی بخدمت شری ست گور صاحبه عرضداشته است

(۱) عرضِ حالِ سرگذشتم بشنوید ∴ لاعلاجم چاره سازِ من شوید

(۲) بودم از غفلت در ایامِ شباب ∴ روز و شب مشغولِ فکرِ خورد و خواب

(۳) هم زپایِ کار غافل هم ز سر ∴ بودم از اصلی خبر پُر بے خبر

(۴) لیک فیضِ عامِ تُو شد خاصِ من ∴ یافتم بارِ جنابت در زمن

(۵) مُدتے بُودم ز الطافِ کمال ∴ بهره مند از دولتِ قرب وصال

(۶) قدر آن دولت بسے نشناختم ∴ خود به داوِ راستی کج باختم

(۷) وای بر من جُرمِ غفلت کرده ام ∴ سر بسر تقصیرِ خدمت کرده ام

(۸) چُون چنین جُرمی زمن گشته ظهور ∴ برکنار افتادم از دریای نور

(۹) بازروی از کاهلی بر تافتم ∴ بر درِ رحمت سُراغ یافتم

(۱۰) رفت درپایِ دلم خارِ طلب ∴ دمبدم شُد گرم بازارِ طلب

(۱۱) صد بیابان دُور ماندم زاضطراب ∴ خانهٔ هجران شود یارب خراب

(۱۲) پی نه بُردم سوی این ره چند گاه ∴ دُور ماندم زان درِ عالم پناه

(۱۳) تا که روزی خضرِ وقتم شد دوچار ∴ کو بر راهِ ظُلمتم شد دستیار

(۱۴) چونکه پیمودم زره چندے قدم ∴ ناگهان گشته سگے سنگِ رهم

(۱۵) سگ به یک لقمه وفاداری کُند ∴ این سگ از خوردن جفاکاری کُند

(۱۶) این سگِ درنده یاران الحذر ∴ الحذر اے زیرکان کردم خبر

(۱۷) آن نه سگ هم سنگ گرگ و شیر بُود ∴ وحشتش از عالمے جان می ربُود

(۱۸) چون سگِ بدخوی دامنگیر شد ∴ پس به پایِ رفتنم زنجیر شد

(۱۹) از کشاکشهای آن سگ دمبدم ∴ صد دلاسا کرده رفتم یک قدم

(۲۰) قلعهٔ دیدم چو رفتم چند گام ∴ بُود در رفعت بسے عالی مقام

(۲۱) جانب خود ناگهان دیدم دوان ∴ از نگهبانانِ آن ده پهلوان

(۲۲) هر یکی دیدم عیار و رهزنے ∴ در رهٔ یزدان شُده آهرمنے

(۲۳) خواستم راهِ درُون رفتن همے ∴ تا به خلوت گاهِ او پئے بُردمے

(۲۴) هر یکی راهی به چاهی می نمود ∴ در عیاری دستگاهی می نمود

(۲۵) هر یکی در گمرهی غولم شده ∴ سد راه راه مقبولم شده

(۲۶) بسکه با آنهان ندیدم کس حریف ∴ از غریبی یافتم خودرا نحیف

(۲۷) جذبهٔ توفیق شد چون دستیار ∴ یافتم پس بر در آن قلعه بار

(۲۸) کوچهٔ دیدم بسی تاریک وتنگ ∴ باد نتواند زدن دردی شلنگ

(۲۹) ناگهانم جذبهٔ آن خضر راه ∴ از کشاکشهای آنهان شد پناه

(۳۰) راه کوچهٔ در حریم خاص بود ∴ رهنمونش جذبهٔ اخلاص بود

(۳۱) میشدی هرگه سعادت رهبر ∴ برسر آن کوچه میکردم گذر

(۳۲) برسر آن کوچه چون باد صبا ∴ گاه گاهی یافتم بوی وفا

(۳۳) لیک ره در خلوت خاصم کجاست ∴ گرنمای راه آن خلوت بجاست

(۳۴) زانکه از دل بندهٔ آندر گهم ∴ جذبهٔ فرمای ای خضر رهم

(۳۵) برسر آن کوچه هستم خاکسار ∴ تا به بینم نقش پای آن نگار

(۳۶) دیده ام من بسی رندان هند ∴ لیک کمتر از مریدان تو اند

(۳۷) داشتم حد ادب چون در نظر ∴ عرض حال خود نمودم مختصر

Translation of letter from Bâla Dhar to Rûpa Bhawânî.

(1) Please listen to what occurred to me.
I am helpless. Be my helper.

(2) I was, through negligence, in my youth
Busy day and night with eating and sleeping.

(3) I neglected work entirely ;
I was wholly ignorant of real knowledge.

(4) But thy general munificence became special [munificence] to me.
I obtained audience of thee in this world.

(5) Long did I, through [your] extreme kindness,
Avail of the fortune of close contact [with you].

(6) I did not esteem that fortune much ;
I myself played foul in the game of truth.

(7) Alas ! I have committed the offence of negligence ;
I have been entirely remiss in service.

(8) When such an offence was committed by me,
I was tossed up on the bank from the river of light.

(9) Then I turned away owing to [my] idleness ;
I found a clue at the door of thy mercy.

(10) A thorn of quest pricked into the bottom of my heart,
And a keen inclination arose for the quest.

(11) I remained a hundred deserts distant from you.
O God, may the house of distance be ruined !

(12) I could not get a clue to the way for sometime.
I remained at a distance from that door—the asylum of the world—

(13) Until one day the prophet Khiẓr of the time met me.
He stretched out to me his helping hand in the way of darkness.

(14) When I walked some paces on the way,
A dog suddenly hindered me from proceeding.

(15) A dog becomes faithful by [giving him] a mouthful of food ;
This dog commits oppression on being fed (lit., 'from eating ').

(16) O friends, beware of this biting dog !
O intelligent people, beware ! I have given you a warning.

(17) Not a dog that, it was equal to a wolf or a tiger ;
Fear of it used to take life from a world.

(18) When this dog of bad habits seized me by the skirt,
It hampered me from moving on (lit., ' became a chain on the foot of my going ').

(19) From constant struggles with that dog
I walked one pace after [giving him] a hundred pats.

(20) When I walked a few paces, I spied a fort.
It was a very lofty building in elevation.

(21) I suddenly found running towards me
Ten warriors (i.e., 5 internal and 5 external senses) from [among] its guards.

(22) I found every one of them crafty and a robber,
[Who had] become an evil spirit infesting the road towards God.

(23) I, however, inquired the way to enter,
So that I could spy the secret abode.

(24) Each one of them pointed to me a way to a well—
Showing his power in craftiness.

(25) Each one led me astray,
Becoming an obstacle on the road agreeable to me.

(26) I could not find anyone to oppose them ;
I found myself feeble from my weakness.

(27) When the attraction of [thy] kindness became [my] helper
I then found an entrance to that fort.

(28) I saw a lane very narrow and dark—
Wind [even] could not enter into it.

(29) Suddenly the attraction of thee, the K͟hiẓr of the way,
Became a shelter from all their obstructions.

(30) The lane was leading to thine own apartment ;
That guide was the attraction of love.

(31) Thy grace was every time the guide
When I was passing through that lane.

(32) In that lane, like a zephyr,
Sometimes I found the scent of faithfulness.

(33) But where is the way to the special apartment ?
It would be meet if thou shouldst show me the way to that apartment.

(34) As I am from [the depth of] my heart the servant of thy court,
Grant an attraction, O K͟hiẓr of my way !

(35) I am humbly standing in thy lane,
In order that I may see the footprint of Thine Excellency.

(36) I have seen many a hermit of India,
But they are inferior to thy pupils.

(37) Since I have observed the limit of respect
I have briefly stated my circumstances.

جواب شری ست گور صاحبہ بنام بال دھر از مقام واسکورہ

(۱) دلپسند افضلِ حق یارِ تو باد ∴ در حریمِ خاصِ دِل بارِ تو باد

(۲) مهربان پیوستہ اهلِ دِل بہ تُو ∴ کامِ دِل بادا همہ حاصل بہ تُو

(۳) گوش کردم جملہ شرحِ نامہات ∴ خوش بیان بادا زبانِ خامہات

(۴) گر بصورت دُوری از هجرم منال ∴ لیک در معنی بما داری وصال

(۵) نُورِ من بنگر بهر جا جلوہ گر ∴ عام در حیوان و خاصہ در بشر

(۶) نُورِ پاکم در گرفت آفاق را ∴ لیک داند هر کہ شد مشتاقِ ما

(۷) هیچ دُوری نیست از ما تا بہ تُو ∴ درمیان گر هست منزلها بہ تُو

(۸) رُتبۂ مشتاق ما بالا تر است ∴ هرکہ شد مشتاقِ ما نیک اختر است

(۹) نُورِ من تابندہ از ماہ و خور است ∴ نُور من رخشندہ از هر گوهر است

(۱۰) در حقیقت گشتہ از ما نامور ∴ اسم و جسم و رنگ و رویِ هر بشر

(۱۱) خود پرستی بابِ این بازار نیست ∴ خود فروشان را درین رہ بار نیست

(۱۲) هستیِ خود بین بود بارِ گران ∴ خود پرستی هست آزار گران

(۱۳) در حریمم نیست بارِ خود پرست ∴ وصل ما یابد کسے از خود برست

(۱۴) شیوۂ مردان حق نبود خودی ∴ از خودی بگذر بما واصل شُدی

(۱۵) بے نشان آمد نشانِ بے خودان ∴ سر بنہ بر آستانِ بے خودان

(۱۶) بے خودان هستند والا دستگاہ ∴ شاہِ وقت و صاحبِ تاج و کُلاہ

(۱۷) بے خودان خود مظهرِ خاص حق اند ∴ بے خودان خود محوِ ذاتِ مطلق اند

(۱۸) باش فرمان بخشِ شهرِ بیخودی ∴ آشنائی بر و بحرِ بیخودی

(۱۹) بسکہ از تاثیرِ الفت هاے ما ∴ در دلت اسرارِ عرفان کردہ جا

(۲۰) واقفی خود از رموزِ فیضِ وصل ∴ از فروع پے میبری زان سوے اصل

(۲۱) در حقیقت هرچہ گفتم اے رفیق ∴ یاد دادن بُود در شرطِ طریق

(۲۲) از سدانندِ دعا گوےِ قدیم ∴ کورنش بر درگاہِ اخلاص مقیم

(۲۳) تا بُود دایم مدارِ شش جهات ∴ تا بُود قایم قرارِ کاینات

(۲۴) صد دُعا بادا بر احوالت شمول ∴ زآنکہ میباشد دُعاے او قبول

(۲۵) باش از الطافِ ما اے جانِ جان ∴ کامرانِ این جهان و آن جهان

Translation of reply from Rûpa Bhawânî to Bâla Dhar.

(1) O darling ! May God's grace be thy helper !
May thou have admittance into the sacred apartment of the heart !

(2) May the saintly-minded be kindly disposed towards thee !
May thy desires be all fulfilled to thee !

(3) I listened to all the contents of thy letter,
May the tongue of thy pen by eloquent !

(4) Though in person thou art far away, do not grieve at separation from me :
But in reality thou art united with us.

(5) See my splendour is conspicuous everywhere—
In beasts in general and in men in particular.

(6) My holy light pervades the universe,
But every one observes it who has become fond of us.
(7) There is no distance between us and thee,
Though there are many stages intervening between us.
(8) The status of him who is fond of us is high ;
Whoever became fond of us is fortunate.
(9) My effulgence is brighter than that of the moon and the sun ;
My effulgence is of greater lustre than any pearl.
(10) In reality, from us has become renowned
The name, the person, the colour and the appearance of all mankind.
(11) Self-praise is not the gate of this market ;
Those who indulge in self-praise have no access to this road.
(12) The life of the conceited is a heavy burden ;
Selfishness is a great pain.
(13) The selfish has no admittance into my apartment :
That person will be united with me who is selfless.
(14) Ostentation is not the habit of the godly ;
Be far from self, and thou art united with us.
(15) Selflessness is the sign of the selfless :
Bow down at the door of the selfless.
(16) The selfless are of the highest authority—
The kings of the time and the wearers of the crest and crown.
(17) The selfless are the seers of God ;
The selfless are merged in the Almighty.
(18) Be the ruler of the city of selflessness,
The possessor of lands and oceans of selflessness.
(19) Very much from the effect of our love
The secrets of saints have dominated thy mind.
(20) Thou thyself art aware of the secrets of the advantages of union
Therefore thou art inclined from the false towards the true.
(21) Dear, whatever I have said, in reality
Was to remind [thee] of the way of religion.
(22) From Sadânand, the old well-wisher,
Who is resolute at the door of thy friendship,
(23) Until the centre of the six sides (of the universe) endures,
Until the stability of the world lasts,
(24) A hundred prayers be connected with thee in thy vicissitudes,
As his prayers are granted (by God).
(25) O soul of life ! be, by my affection,
Successful in this world and the world to come.

Rûpa Bhawânî's paternal female cousins often indulged in gibes, sneers and whispers against her for her ill-luck so far as conjugal happiness was concerned. Naturally the reproaches struck home, and she would heave a deep sigh and knit her brow in distress, her soul labouring under a sickly sensibility of the miseries not of herself alone for the time being, but also of others like herself in the family in the future, which she could foresee. On the other hand, her paternal male cousins' wives showed sincere sympathy with her and admired her magnanimity in patiently and nobly bearing misfortunes hatched by her cranky mother-in-law, and them she used to bless. And it does so happen that daughters-in-law in the Dhar family are, together with their husbands, invariably prosperous and happy.

Rûpa Bhawânî introduced a very important social reform, which is still in vogue, and has rendered her name immortal. She tabooed bigamy and polygamy, both in respect of daughters and daughters-in-law, in the Dhar family. This reform has greater force and higher sanction than a statutory law, solemnized as it is by an oath administered by her against its infringement, and it is, therefore, respected by all and strictly adhered to.

Rûpa Bhawânî's mind was always fixed on things heavenly. Her verses, composed in mixed Sanskrit and Kâshmîrî, which number 96, have a profound mystic significance. They

have been recorded, and they are repeated by several of her votaries every morning. Five of them, which show that her spiritual *guru* in her practice of *yoga* was her father, Paṇḍit Mâdho Dhar, are quoted below.

Tal pâtâla tshâl phirit tah khorum ;
Metsi tah kanëv manzi unmas pay ;
Adah nâd udum gali mad piwum.
Parovtum sumbrum sât.
Âhushî ghî veglovum ;
Ang novum deshâgan.
Yusuy gur pitâ suy chhum moluy :
Suy prabhalum dîpa prakâsh ;
Suy sarva kulas udhâr karawuny ;
Suy Ishwar suy chhum gur.

I dashed down into the nether regions [of the body] and brought it (the vital breath) up;
I got its clue out of earth and stones ;
Then my [*kuṇḍalinî* or *śakti*) woke up with *nâda* (loud noise) ; I drank wine by the mouth.
I got it (the vital breath) [and] gathered it within myself.
I melted *ghî* for oblation ;
I purified all sides of my limbs.
He, who is Father Guru, the same is my father ;
He became the brilliant lamp-light [in me] ;
He is the liberator of the whole family ;
He is *Ishwar*, he is my *Guru*.

Rûpa Bhawânî, at the advanced age of 96 years, came to Śrînagar after leaving Kastûrmâjî in charge of her place at Vâsakur, and shuffled off her mortal coil without regret, but mourned by all, in her parents' house on the 7th of the dark fortnight of Mâgh, v.s. 1777 (=A.H. 1133=A.D. 1721). The words به رحمت پیوست in the following epigram in Persian, composed by Shâh Sâdiq Qalandar,[6] give the chronogram, viz., A.H. 1133, of her death :—

عارفی ذات آن الک اوتار
قالب عنصرئی خویش شکست
کرد پرواز سوی عرش عظیم
بادل نیک به رحمت پیوست

That holy-natured incarnation of the Unseen [Goddess]
Broke her coil of four elements (i.e., quitted her body) ;
Flew to the highest heaven ;
With a good-natured heart united with Bliss.

[6] It is he who has written the following fine lines in Persian, which are suggestive of the transitoriness of the world:—

یک چند پئے زینت و زیور گشتیم — در عہد شباب
یک چند پئے دانش و دفتر گشتیم — کردیم حساب
چون واقف این جہان ابتر گشتیم — نقشے ست بر آب
دست از ہمہ شستیم و قلندر گشتیم — اینک دریاب
یک چند سوارہ سیر دشتے کردیم
یک چند پیادہ پشت پشتے گردیم
دیدیم کہ این کوچہ ندارد پایان
گشتے کردیم و باز گشتے کردیم

At one time we were in pursuit of adornment and ornaments—during the season of youth ;
At another time we were in pursuit of knowledge and office—we made calculations ;
When we became aware of this wretched world—it is a picture drawn on the surface of water ;
We washed our hands of everything : we became monks—lo ! find [God].
At one time we made excursions over a plain, riding ;
At another time we walked round a plateau.
We found this lane (i.e., life) had no end :
We strolled on and strolled back.

KIRÂDU INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF CHAULUKYA KUMÂRAPÂLA AND HIS FEUDATORY PARAMÂRA SÔMÊSHVARA DATED V.S. 1218.

BY SAHITYACHARYA PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH REU.

THIS inscription is engraved on a pillar at the entrance of a dilapidated temple of Śiva at Kirâḍu, a ruined town situated about 16 miles north-west of Bâḍmêr (in Jodhpur State). It was transcribed by Puran Chand Nahar in his *Jaina Inscr.*, Pt. I, p. 251 f. A summary of the inscription has also been published by D. R. Bhandarkar in his List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, No. 312.

The epigraph measures 17″×17″ and contains 26 lines. As the middle portion of the stone from the third line to the twentieth has peeled off, some names, etc., are destroyed. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the record except a portion of the last line is in verse. As regards orthography, it is worth noting that, in some places, the consonant following 'r' is doubled, व is used for ब and स for श. The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that this is the only record which contains the genealogy of the Paramâra branch of Kirâdu and the name of the Paramâra king Sindhurâja of Mârwâṛ, the father of Utpalarâja, the first known Paramâra king of Âbu.

It is dated Saṁvat 1218 Âshvina Sudi 1, Gurau=Thursday, the 21st September 1161 A.D.

The purport of the inscription is as follows :—

In the dynasty of the Paramâras, who sprung from the fire altar of Vasishṭha at Âbu, there was born a king named Sindhurâja, who ruled over Marumaṇḍala (Mârwâṛ). His son was Ûsala (Utpala[1]). The names of Utpala's son and grandson have peeled off. Then is mentioned Dharaṇîdhara (Dharaṇîvarâha),[2] and his son was Dêvarâja,[3] who perhaps built a temple of Dêvarâjêśvara. Then is mentioned Dhandhuka[4] who ruled over Marumaṇḍala (Mârwâṛ) through the favour of Durlabharâja (1066-1078 V.S.) (the Chaulukya king). Krishṇarâja[5] (II) was the son of Dhandhuka, and his son was Sochhrâja,[6] whose son Udayarâja, being a feudatory of (Chaulukya) Jayasiṁha (1150-1199 V.S.), conquered Chôḍa, Gauḍa, Karaṇâta, and Mâlava. Sômêśvara (name peeled off here, but appears in line 23), the son of Udayarâja, regained his lost kingdom of Sindhurâjapur[7] through the favour of (Chaulukya) Jayasiṁha Siddharâja (perhaps in 1198 V.S.), became firmly established in 1205 V.S. in the reign of (Chaulukya) Kumârapâla, and protected for a long time his Kirâṭakûpa (Kirâdu) along with Śivakûpa. He also exacted 1700 horses (including 1 five-nailed and 8 peacock-breasted horses) and took two forts, one of Taṇukôṭṭa[8] and the other of Navasara[9] from prince Jajjaka on Tuesday, the first day of the bright half of Âshavina 1218 V.S. at 4½ hours after sunrise. But on his (Jajjaka's) acknowledging his allegiance to the Chaulukya king (Kumârapâla), he (Sômêśvara) reinstated him in the possession of those places.

By the order of the king this *praśasti* was composed by Narasiṁha, was written by Yaśodêva and was engraved by Jasôdhara.

The inscription ends with the date : Vikrama-saṁvat 1218 Âśvina-śudi 1 Gurau.

Text.

१. [ॐ नमः] सर्व्वज्ञाय ॥ नमोनंताय सूक्ष्माय ज्ञानगम्याय वेधसे ॥ विश्वरूपाय शुद्धाय देवदेवाय शंभवे ॥ [१]

२. देवस्य तस्य चरितानि जयंति शंभोः सस्त्र (शश्व) त्कालवि [धुभ] स्म विभूषणस्य । गर्व्वः सकोपि हृदि यस्य प-

३. दं करोति गौरीनितंव (ब) चिरवल्कल—र्षदर्शात् ॥ २ [वशिष्ट] — — — — — [भूषिते] र्व्वु (र्ब्बु) दभूधरे । सुरभ्या :

1 This is the first name of the Paramâra branch of Âbu found in the inscription of Vasantgarh dated V.S. 1099 (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, p. 10 ff.).

2 *Supra* vol. XL, p. 239 : When Sôlaṅki (Chaulukya) Mûlrâja (998-1052 V.S.) attacked him he was obliged to seek the help of the Râsṭrakûṭa Dhavala of Hastikundi (Hathûṇḍi) in Mârwâṛ (*Epigraphia India*, vol. X, p. 21).

3 He was also named Mahîpâla. A copper grant of his, dated V.S. 1059 (A.D. 1002), has been found.

4 He refused allegiance to Châlukya Bhîmadêva I (1078-1120 V.S.) and was driven away from Âbu, but afterwards Vimala, the new 'Daṇḍapati,' of Âbu settled the dispute and brought him back from Chitor, where he (Dhandhuka) lived for some days with king Bhôja of Mâlwâ.

5 He was the younger brother of Pûrṇapâla (Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 135 and 139).

6 He was the founder of the Paramâra branch of Kirâdu.

7 This might have been founded by Sindhurâja himself or by his descendants after the name of the founder of the Paramâra branch of Mârwâṛ and Âbu.

8 Tanaut in the Jaisalmer State.

9 Nausar in the Jodhpur State.

४. परमाराणां वंशोस्त्यनलकुंडत : ॥ ३ तत्रानेकम [हीपाल] — — — — — — — — — — । [सिं] धुराजो महाराज :

५. समभून्मरुमंडले ॥ ४ निरर्गल मिलद्वैरि — — — — — — — — — । — — — — — — — — प्रतापोज्वलदुस —

६. लः ॥ ५ शंभुवद्भूरिभूमीशाभ्यर्च्चनीयो [भ] — — — । — — — — — — — — — — — — — — सू : ॥ ६ रणे

७. खड्गरण[त्का]र रावणोल्वणवै [भव :] । — — — — — — — — — — — — [॥ ७] सिंधुराजधरा —

८. धारधरणीधरधामवान् । [मा] — — — — — — — — — — — — [॥ ८] [देवरा] जोभवत्तस्मात्

९. सुरराजो हराज्ञया । देवराजेश्वर — — — — — — — — — — — — — — [॥ ९] — — — — — — — — — — [म] पहाय महीमि —

१०. मां । मन्ये कल्पद्रुमः प्रायाददृश्य [क] — — — — — — — — — — — — — [॥ १०] — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — दारणात् । श्रीम —

११. दुर्ल्लभराजोपि राजेंद्रो रंजितो — — [॥ ११] — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — तै : । येन दुर्व्वार —

१२. वीर्येण भूषितं मरुमंडलं ॥ १२ ध [र्म्मांकरो व (ब) भू] — — — — — — — — — — । — — — — [कृष्ण] राजो महा —

१३. शब्द विभूषितः ॥ १३ तत्पुत्रः सोछ राजाख्य : — — — — — — — — । — — — — — — — — — — — [कल्प —]

१४. द्रुमोभवत् ॥ १४ तस्मादुदयराजाख्यो महाराज — — — — । — — — — — — — — — — [ऽ नी] कपदाधि —

१५. क : ॥ १५ चाचोडगौडकर्ण्णाटमालवोत्तर पश्चिमं । — — — — — — — — — — — णर्ज ॥ १६

१६. प्रा (श्री) सिंधुराजभूपाला त्पितृपत्रक्रमात्पुन : तस्मादुदयरा — — — — — — — ॥ १७ उत्कीर्ण्ण —

१७. मपि योराज्यमुद्दध्रेभुजवीर्यत : । जयसिंहमहीपाला — — — — — — — — [॥ १८] — — — — छम (?) — — वर्षे

१८. विक्रमभूपतेः । प्रसादाज्जयसिंहस्य सिद्धराजस्य भूभुज : [॥ १९] — — — — — — जेन सिंधुराजपुरो —

१९. द्रवं । भूयो निर्व्याज सौ (शौ) र्येण राज्यमेतत्समुद्धृतं ॥ २० पुनर्द्वा [दशसंख्येषु पं] चाधिकशतेष्ट (ष्व) लं । कु —

२०. मारपालभूपालात् सप्रतिष्ठमिदं कृतं ॥ २१ [कि] रा [ट] कूपमात्मीयं — — — — — समन्वितं । निजेन क्ष (क्षा) त्र —

२१. धर्म्मेण पालयामास यश्चिरं ॥ २२ अष्टाद [शाधिके] चास्मिन् शतद्वादशके ऽश्विने । प्रतिपद्गुरुसंयो —

२२. गे सार्द्ध [या] मे गते दि [ना] त् ॥ २३ दंडं सप्तदशशतान्यश्वानां नृपजज्जकात् । सह पंचनखा —

२३. श्चेन मयूरादिभिरष्टभि : ॥ २४ तणुकोट्टं नवसरो दुर्गौ सोमेश्वरोग्रहीत् । उच्चां [ग] वर [हा] —

२४. साद्यां चक्रे चैवात्मसादा (द) सौ ॥ २५ व (ब) हुश : [सेव] कीकृत्य चौलुक्यजगतीपतेः । पुनः संस्थापया —

२५. मास तेषु देशेषु जज्जकं ॥ २६ प्रशस्तिमकरोदेतां नरसिंहो नृपाज्ञया । लेखकोत्र य [शो] —

२६. देवः सूत्रधारोस्तु (०) जसोधरः ॥ २७ विक्रम [संव] त् १२१८ अ (आ) श्विन शुदि १ गुरौ ॥ मंगलं म [हाश्री] : ॥

MISCELLANEA

INDIA IN CURRENT LITERATURE.

Journal Asiatique.—On pp. 298 f. of the Oct.-Dec., 1930, issue of this journal Dr. C. L. Fabri notices what he describes as a "Mesopotamian element" in the art of India in the crenelations, formed like towers in diminishing stages, depicted in the representation of railings, etc., on sculptures at Bharhut and Sâñchî, in the Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri caves in Orissa, at Sârnâth and on two pieces of railing now in the Peshâwar museum. He draws attention to the representation of similar patterns on certain bas-reliefs of the times of Sennacherib, Assurbanipal and Darius. He suggests that the origin of this decorative element may perhaps be found in the *ziḳḳurat*, or ancient temple of Mesopotamia. He expresses the opinion that this decorative motif is clearly derived from a similar decorative design of Persia, and that the latter came from a repetition or 'multiplying' of the *ziḳḳurat*. The parallels which are drawn in this paper are of interest as affording another ground for suspecting influence from the west in the architectural development in India. In connexion with the statement that temples built in stages were foreign to Indian art, certain features observable on the west of the peninsula, e.g., in S. Kanara, should also be considered.

In the Jan.-Mar., 1931 (tome CCXVIII, No. 1) issue of the journal, M. Jean Przyluski contributes a short but very suggestive note on Tantrik Buddhism in Bali, based upon a memoir by Dr. F. D. K. Bosch, in which he has given an analysis of some Buddhist texts from Bali and shown that the Balinese system is related to Japanese tantrism. M. Przyluski points out that the Bali texts are remarkable in enumerating the *krodha* manifestations corresponding to each of the five Tathâgatas and in associating with the Buddhas feminine divinities analogous to the *śaktis* of Hinduism. Here, as he notes, we have to do with a degenerate doctrine nearer to Hinduism than to genuine Buddhism. He proceeds to indicate his conception of the stages through which the Balinese Tantrik system would appear to have passed, noting not only the analogies between it and the Tantrism of the Shingon sect, but also the relations between these and the Indian and Tibetan beliefs.

Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië.—In vol. 88 (1931) Dr. H. H. Juynboll continues his translation (Chap. XX) of the old Javanese *Râmâyaṇa*. Prof. R. A. Kern records a few interesting notes on words occurring in the Malayan Inscriptions of Śrîvijaya, the texts of which, with translations in French, have recently been published by M. George Coedès in the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* (tome XXX, pp. 29 f.). Mr. Kemper describes, with a good plate, the stone Hindu-Javanese image (acquired in 1831 by Mr. Millett) now in the British Museum, giving grounds for suggesting that it represents Nairṛta. Mr. G. J. van Dongen, sometime Resident of Djambi in Sumatra, records a few notes on the Koeboes in reference to Professor Schebesta's account of these folk, in which the professor comes in for some sharp criticism.

Archæologische Mittheilungen aus Iran, Band IV, Heft 2 (Jan. 1932).—In this issue Dr. Ernst Herzfeld pursues his researches on Sakastân and the Sakas, carrying them down to the time of Gondophames. The number comprises some four sections, viz., on the vassal kings under the successors of Mithridates the Great, the Parthian kingdom under the Arsakids, Sakâ and Surên in Sakastân, and Gondofarr in legend and fable. A wealth of references from both western and eastern sources and the evidence of hitherto available coins have been requisitioned to elucidate the history and chronology of a period that presents many difficulties.

Karnatak Historical Review, vol. 1.—In *I.A.*, VII, p. 33 f., the late Dr. Fleet described 3 copper-plates of the Kadamba Yuvarâja Devavarma found at Devagiri in the Karajgi Tâlukâ of the Dhârwâr district, issued from a place called Triparvata, which he was unable to identify. Prof. Jouveau Dubreuil (*Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 101) thought this was probably Devagiri, where the plates were found. In the March 1931 issue of the above *Review*, Fr. H. Heras gives reasons for believing the site to have been the modern Halebiḍ, the Dvârasamudra of the Hoysalas. In this vicinity there are three hills, between which the earliest city seems to have stood. Among other reasons given in support of this identification, he considers that the temples on two of these hills were evidently Kadamba temples, reconstructed later by the Hoysalas.

In the same issue Mr. D. P. Karmakar deals with the administrative systems of the Châlukya kingdoms as disclosed from the epigraphical records, the territorial divisions for administrative purposes, the position of feudatory chiefs or subordinate administrative officials, the advisory council, heads of departments, the assessment and collection of government revenue and taxes, etc. Research of this nature deserves encouragement, and the example set might with advantage be followed in other areas rich in inscriptional records. In several cases the exact meaning to be attached to the terms used has yet to be satisfactorily determined. This is another matter that calls for research work. It is time that all such terms found in the inscriptions in different parts of India that are now obsolete or of doubtful meaning were listed and collated with a view to their correct interpretation. As regards the numerical components of certain territorial designations, such as the "Banavâsî 12,000," attention may be invited to the explanation of these

figures proposed by Dr. Pran Nath in *R. A. S. Monographs*, vol. XX, Chap. I, Sec. II.

Man, 1931.—In the April number (Article No. 65) Mr. L. A. Cammiade describes and illustrates the art of iron smelting among the Kois of the Godâvarî Agency. The smelters form a separate community, debarred from marriage with the Koi tribesmen. The bellows used are of the piston type. The art is fast dying out. In the September issue (Art. No. 202) Mr. F. J. Richards points out a number of similarities between the elliptical bronze bowl from the Nîlgiris (Breeks, Pls. XLI, XLII) and a bowl of gold from Ur, figured by Dr. Woolley in the *Illustrated London News* of Dec. 17, 1927, p. 1092. In the October issue (Art. No. 208) Mr. K. de B. Codrington discusses the functions of the Mâla messenger (*sâlavâdi*) and the Desayi Chetti of S. India as survivals of a former system of civil organization. In Art. No. 212 Mr. Cammiade contributes an important note on the belief that the "man-eater" is not really a tiger, but a man. In Nos. 229 and 230 Mr. J. H. Powell criticizes certain theories of "hook-swinging" set forth in *Man*, 1927, No. 110, an article which purports to describe a Sinhalese example of the rite under Mr. A. M. Hocart's name. Mr. Hocart points out that the article was not his, and that hook-swinging is unknown in Ceylon; and he offers an alternative explanation of the rite.

Illustrated London News.—In the October 10, 1931, issue Mr. Gordon King describes the cave temples of Wu Chou Shin, near Tatung in Shansi, just inside the Great Wall, the oldest Buddhist monuments known in China. The sculptures which adorn them, dating from the fifth century A.D., are strongly influenced by the art of Gandhâra.

Some interesting Balinese customs are depicted in the issue of Nov. 9, notably the ritual use of masks similar to those of Tibet and Ceylon. In Bali a corpse is enclosed and cremated in the wooden effigy of a bull or cow. This number includes a coloured plate showing a troupe of dancers from Cambodia and another from Bali.

Other points of note in this handsomely illustrated journal are a brilliantly coloured plate of Javanese theatrical characters (Nov. 14); an appreciative critique by Sir Arthur Keith on the recently published volumes on *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation* (Dec. 19); pictures of Indian craftsmen by Stowitts; an article on the Chins, and another on Japanese marionettes.

The issues for January, 1932, includes an account of the Siamese shadow play, more pictures by Stowitts, of Indian rulers (Jan. 2), and some notes and pictures of Burmese customs (Jan. 23).

C. E. A. W. O. AND F. J. R.

BOOK-NOTICE.

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE SARASVATI MAHAL LIBRARY, TANJORE, by P. P. S. SASTRI, M.E.S.

The Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore, is one of the very well known libraries in South India and enjoyed a reputation till recently quite deserved. Even after the Government Oriental Manuscript Library came into existence, it had not lost its special character, and had continued to maintain its place as a distinctly useful library. It owed its origin, at least in its present form, to Râja Sarfojî, the penultimate ruler of Tanjore, early in the nineteenth century, and it is his name that it bears as the "Maharaja Sarfoji Library." But the Sarasvati Mahal goes back in history much anterior to the time of Râja Sarfojî, and is at least as old as the first half of the seventeenth century. In more recent history, Tanjore became an illustrious centre for learning since the foundation of its Nâyakship under Achyutarâya of Vijayanagar, who was responsible for dividing the Southern Nâyakship of Madura into two sections for administrative convenience. Finding the charge too big, the nearer portion of the huge area was cut off from the territory dependent upon Madura proper, and was constituted into the Tanjore Nâyakship, which was consigned to the charge of Sevvappa Nâyak, whose wife's sister Achyuta took for one of his queens. Sevvappa had for his minister and adviser Govinda Dikshita, who occupied a unique place in South Indian learning as the teacher to whom all propagators of Sanskrit culture in the South in one way or another traced their descent in learning. He was a remarkable man both from the point of view of administration and as a promoter of learning. He was minister to Sevvappa and continued in that capacity under his son Achyuta, who had a long reign, and he was tutor to Achyuta's son Raghunâtha, whom he had the pleasure and gratification of seeing established on the throne of Tanjore at a critical time of its history by persuading his old father to abdicate in his favour. It was through the influence of Govinda Dikshita and the enlightened support of the Nâyaks of Tanjore that Tanjore revived as a great centre of learning. We do not know much about the literary character of Sevvappa. Achyuta was a man of considerable piety in religion and taste in literature. Raghunâtha could be actually described as a scholar and a patron of great eminence, and his son was quite worthy of his father in this branch of his activities.

The Sarasvati Mahal Library came into existence, at least as a well established institution, in the days of Raghunâtha Nâyaka, and maintained its character thereafter. We have some of Raghunâtha Nâyak's works, and the works of those that enjoyed his patronage pre-eminently. We have some works of his son, which throw interesting

light upon the history of the time, and we are indebted to these for more than one important episode in the history of South India when the Mahrattas conquered Tanjore for Bijâpur and took over the rule of what constituted the Nâyakship of Tanjore. The Mahratta dynasty was founded under Ekojî or Veṅkajî, son of Shâhjî and a half brother of Shivajî. Even in Mahratta history Ekojî is made to appear, of course in contrast to Shivajî, as an unenlightened and a ne'er-do-well man. It would therefore be surprising to learn that his interest in Sanskrit literature was great. He is said to have made an effort at trying his hand in writing Sanskrit, though the one commentary that has come down to us of the historical poem Mudrârâkshasa is by one Dhuṇḍurâja, who lived at the court of Ekojî and enjoyed his patronage. Ekojî probably contracted this taste for literature from the dynasty that he overthrew, and possibly he wanted to continue the tradition of the enlightened family of rulers of Tanjore unbroken. This patronage of literature continued at least as a fashion among his successors, and Sarfojî simply followed it up as a mere matter of fashion. The story goes that on a visit to Calcutta one of the enthusiastic members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal put him a question whether there were libraries in his State such as that of the newly founded Asiatic Society of Bengal. When Sarfojî returned to Tanjore, his interest in literature grew a little more active, and we find books published in Italian on the *Śakuntalâ* well preserved in the library as yet. The calamity that overtook the family in the nineteenth century brought about the neglect of the library along with much else, and it was not till the seventies that efforts were made to catalogue the library and introduce some systematic arrangement. After some futile efforts, a District Judge of Tanjore, in the person of the late A. C. Burnell, took it upon himself to catalogue the manuscripts there, and it is that that first opened the eyes of the public to the important mass of material, literary material, that lay neglected in the library. Burnell's Catalogue was far from perfect, although it made the best effort to give an idea of what the library contained. Since then the library has been going on as heretofore, although within recent years a laudable attempt had been made to complete the work started by Burnell and, as a first step, arrangements were made to examine the manuscripts and put them in order. In the course of the litigation that occurred about ten years ago for the heirship of the estates, the various parties, with a commendable desire to perpetuate the library, whatever the result of the litigation, came to an agreement that irrespective of the court's decree in the suit, the library should be maintained, and provision made for its maintenance from the estate. This was agreed to with the sanction of the court. The library was placed upon the footing of a public institution, with a committee for its management. Since then the library has had a considerable accession of manuscripts by taking over two or three private libraries containing collections of manuscripts from the families of Paṇḍits connected with Tanjore. The Madras Government then stepped in with praiseworthy liberality, and offered, on their estimate at the time, to provide a grant of Rs. 25,000 a year for three years for the preparation of a complete catalogue. The cataloguing work was entrusted to Mr. P. P. S. Sastri, and a staff of Paṇḍits under the management of a directing committee ; and work has been proceeding apace. Since the beginning of the work we have had nine volumes of the catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts and three volumes of the catalogue of manuscripts in Tamil. We have noticed the Tamil records in the *Indian Antiquary* already. Our present purpose is merely to notice the Sanskrit ones.

The first three volumes constitute a catalogue of Vedic literature, the *Vedas*, *Brâhmaṇas* and *Upanishads* constituting this section. The next section runs through two volumes having begun already in the third volume. They (vols. IV and V) comprise the *Vedâṅgas* and the *Śrauta* part of Vaidik literature. Volume VI begins the *Kâvyas*. The *Kâvya* literature runs through the next two volumes (VI and VII). Vol. VIII deals with *Nâṭaka*, and vol. IX comprises *Kośas*, *Chandas* and *Alaṁkâra*. The number of manuscripts at present in the library would be well over 30,000. The first three volumes describe something over 2,000 manuscripts; volumes IV and V deal with about 2,500 manuscripts nearly ; volumes VI and VII with about 1,500 ; volume VII (*Nâṭakas*) contains 445 items ; and volume IX over 630. So these nine volumes cover only something over 7,000 manuscripts, which represents but a fraction of the library. Notwithstanding the financial stringency of the times, it is to be hoped that the government that came forward with financial assistance to do the good work will continue their patronage to bring that work to completion.

Coming to the character of the work itself, the catalogue is arranged in approved style. Each work is given a number and its full name. References to Burnell's Catalogue are added wherever applicable. The number of pages and *ślokas* are given, whether the manuscript is on paper or on palm leaves, the number of lines to a page, and the character of the script. Then follows the total number of *granthas* and the name of the author. There are remarks in respect of manuscripts indicating their relations to other manuscripts in the catalogue and other such matters. Then usually the beginning and the end of the text of the manuscript are given, as they generally contain the name of the author, patron and other details that throw light upon the time in which the work was actually composed and other data of value. It follows generally the plan of the catalogue of manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, but

effects some improvement in particulars, and contains longer extracts where necessary. The editor takes it upon himself to provide additional notes of value by references to collateral publications and editions, wherever they are available. Whatever material was in Burnell's Catalogue has been incorporated, and this catalogue is made therefore to serve the useful purpose of bringing Burnell's Catalogue up to date so far as it goes. But in this work the editor has sometimes followed too closely Burnell and has not utilised the opportunity to bring the matter quite up to date. For instance, in speaking of the commentary on the *Sâmaveda Saṁhita* by Bharatasvâmin (No. 654 of Burnell's Catalogue) he has repeated the blunder made by Burnell, perhaps excusable at the time when Burnell wrote, but not excusable now. The catalogue says, and the editor follows it in the introduction, that "the commentator's date is more or less fixed to be the latter half of the thirteenth century when one Rama or Ramanatha of Bhosla dynasty reigned at Devagir (1272-1310). Bharatasvamin was an inhabitant of Srirangapatam in Mysore and was the son of Narayanan and Yajnada." The text does not actually support the statement, even as it is given in Burnell. The ruler is said to be Râmanâtha, or to be more correct, Vîra Râmanâtha, and the commentator says that he was a resident, not of Śrîraṅgapatam but of Śrîraṅgam (*Śrî Raṅgê vasatá mayá*). Bharatasvâmin was in residence at Śrîraṅgam, and composed a commentary at that place, while Râmanâtha the Hoysala was ruling at Kaṇṇanûr, hardly six miles across the Coleroon, in the Hoysala capital Vikramapura, as it was called in the years 1254 to 1295. This may be excusable, but could have been easily avoided by reference.

We commend the work as one of very great value on the whole, and look forward to its completion in the near future, so that we may have at least one complete catalogue. The peculiar value of this library consists in the possibility of its containing manuscripts of works of a period subsequent to the Muslim invasions, when Sanskrit literature and literary men found shelter in the south; and all the literature produced in the period of the renaissance under Vijayanagar, whether in Sanskrit or in other languages, is likely to be here and here alone. As a matter of fact, we find from actual experience that for a somewhat later period, the literary works that are available in the library are of the highest value historically, and are found only here and nowhere else. The period of the Vijayanagar viceroyalty was rich in literary output, in Sanskrit and Telugu primarily, but in other languages as well, though the partiality of the viceregal headquarters may be said to have been for these two. Several of the Viceroys or Nâyaks were themselves scholars and wrote, among whom Raghunâtha Nâyaka and his son Vijayarâghava were pre-eminent. But they were equally patrons. The influence of Govinda Dikshita and his sons, and of the unofficial school of which he was the real head were equally responsible. Some of the Telugu works are likely to be found there and nowhere else, as also the later Sanskrit works, and the cataloguing of the whole section including the Telugu MSS. would be of inestimable value. Some of the Telugu and Sanskrit works bearing upon the period we have utilised with great advantage in the reconstruction of the later period of Vijayanagar history. To mention only one specific instance, the massacre of the royal family, imperfectly described in an extract from a writer by name Barradas and translated by Sewell, was the only source of information for that event and the war of succession that followed. We have a detailed account of that incident and the important consequences that it produced in the Sanskrit work *Raghunátha-abhyudayam* by Râmabhadrmba, which is well supplemented by the two dramatic works, a Sanskrit *Raghunâthavilâsam*, and the Telugu work *Raghunâthavilâsam* by his son. Among those engaged in historical research, several were sceptical about the historical value of these literary pieces, and among them not a few happen to be Indians who hold as pronounced opinions as others possibly more ignorant of the literature than themselves. What is stated in these documents is confirmed almost detail for detail from the full text of the letter of Barredas, the head of the Jesuit Mission who wrote home periodical letters conveying the information he obtained by careful inquiry. This letter has been secured, and the whole substance of it is given in the *Journal of Indian History* by the Rev. H. Heras, S.J., of Bombay. This is a typical instance of how a careful foreign writer in his reports confirms fully the account found in local documents, thoroughly justifying the view that the historical material to be found in certain classes of works in Sanskrit as well as in the languages of South India are likely to prove of great value for purposes of historical reconstruction.

It is therefore very desirable that the cataloguing of all the manuscripts be completed, including also the manuscripts in South Indian languages, which should not be left like the vast mass that lies in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library at Madras with no prospect, as it seems, of their ever being completely catalogued.

S. K. Aiyangar.

PALÂTALIZATION IN THE DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES.

BY A. F. THYAGARAJU, M.A.

IN a study of the Dravidian consonant system we notice that Kanarese *k* is sometimes represented by *s* in Tamil and *ch* in Telugu ; in certain cases it remains in all the three languages ; in others it remains hard in Kan. and Tam. and is softened only in Tel. Caldwell drew attention to these facts in his section on the Dialectic Interchange of Consonants in his *Comparative Grammar*, but did not explain the conditions under which the softening takes place. There does not seem to be any doubt that in those cases where Kan. *k* is represented by *s* or *ch*, the hard sound is the older and the other sounds are later softenings. We shall now proceed to determine if such a softening takes place in accordance with any phonetic law.

Kan. *k* is not uniformly softened. Examples where it remains are :

Kan.	Tam.	Tel.	
kallu	*kal*	*kallu*	a stone
kaṇṇu	*kaṇ*	*kannu*	the eye
kâlu	*kâl*	*kâlu*	the leg
kobbu	*koṛupu*	*kovvu*	fat
koḷa	*kuḷam*	*kolanu*	a pond
kôḷi	*kôṛi*	*kôḍi*	a fowl
kuḍi	*kuḍi*	*kuḍuchu*	to drink

In many instances however it is softened. Examples are :

Kan.	Tam.	Tel.	
kivi	*sevi*	*chevi*	the ear
kîvu	*sîṛ*	*chîmu*	pus
kêrpu	*seruppu*	*cheppu*	a sandal
kiru	*siru*	*chiru*	small
kinna	*sinna*	*chinna*	,,
kela	*sila*	..	few

Examples where the softening takes place only in Tel. are :

Kan.	Tam.	Tel.	
keḍisu	*keḍu*	*cheḍupu*	to spoil
keyyi	*kei*	*cheyyi*	the hand
giḷi	*kiḷi*	*chiluka*	the parrot

Tabulating the instances where the softening takes place we arrive at the following

Kan.		Tam.	Tel.
k + i	>	*s + e*	*ch + e*
kivi		*sevi*	*chevi*
k + i	>	*s + i*	*ch + i*
kiru		*siru*	*chiru*
k + î	>	*s + î*	*ch + î*
kîvu		*sîṛ*	*chîmu*
k + e	>	*k + e*	*ch + e*
keṭṭa		*keṭṭa*	*cheḍḍa*
k + e	>	*s + e*	*ch + e*
kerpu		*seruppu*	*cheppu*
k + e	>	*s + i*	..
kelavu		*sila*	

It will be seen that in all cases the vowel following the initial *k* is either *e* or *i*. We shall take a few words and examine all the forms in the cognate languages and try to reconstruct the primitive form on their basis.

The ear : Kan. *kivi*, Tel. *chevi*, Tam. *sevi*, Mal. *chevi*, Tul. *kebi*. Prim. form : * *kevi*.

Small : Kan. *kinna*, Tel. *chinna*, Tam. *sinna*, Mal. *sinna*, Tul. *kini*. Prim. form : * *kinna*.

To do : Kan. *gêy*, Tel. *chêy*, Tam. *sei*, Mal. *chey*, Prim. form : * *key*. (Initial voicing in Kan.)

Sandal : Kan. *kera*, *keravu*, *kerpu*, Tel. *cheppu*, Tam. *seruppu*. Prim. form : * *kerupu*.

I suggest, therefore, that the primitive Dravidian vowels *e* and *i* had a palatalizing effect over the preceding consonant *k* and changed it into *ch*. If this theory is correct every primitive Dravidian form with an initial syllable *ki* or *ke* should be represented by *s* or *ch* in Tam. and Tel. If there are exceptions they must be accounted for in the following ways. The original vowel following the first consonant may not be *e* or *i*. It might be a vowel of guttural quality. A case of softening only in Tel. with the retention of the hard sound in Tam. is due to this : the *k* is preserved in Tam. on account of the influence of the succeeding consonant, which is lingual or cerebral, i.e., *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṇ*, *ṛ*, or *ḷ*. This rule applies only to Tam. This will explain Tam. *keṭṭa* + Tel. *cheḍḍa*, Tam. *kiḷi* + Tel. *chiluka*, and forms like Tam. *kiṛa* (old) + O. Kan. *keṛava*, Tam. *kêṛ*, *kêḷ*, *kêḍ*, + O. K. *kêḷu*.

The word for 'to do' and its semantically related root for 'hand' present some difficulty. The Dravidian forms for 'to do' are : Kan. *gêy*, Tel. *chêy*, Mal. *chey*, Tam. *sei*, Kud. *key*, Gond. *kî*, Kota. *kê*. The forms for 'hand' are : Kan. *keyyi*, *key*, *kayi*, *kayyi* ; Tel. *cheyyi*, *kêlu* ; Tam. *kei* ; Tul. *kai*. The root shows palatalization in some forms and not in the others.

Palatalization is not an uncommon change in the history of language. It is found in the Indo-European languages. Sanskrit regularly palatalizes the back-stops when they are followed by the palatal vowel *e*. Though this vowel was later on changed to *a*, a comparison with related forms in other languages shows that *e* is older. Cf. Skr. *pañca*+Grk. πέντε (<* *penkwe*), Skr. *catvâras* + Lith. *keturi*. On the other hand, if *a* or *o* follows the consonant the back consonant is preserved, as in Skr. *kakṣa*+Lat. *coxa*. It is interesting to find a similar development in the Dravidian group.

The rule in Dravidian, therefore, is as follows :—

Where a primitive *k* is followed by the vowels *e* or *i*, it is preserved in Kanarese, but is changed into *s* in Tamil and *ch* in Telugu. This change does not occur in Tamil where the vowel is followed by a lingual consonant, i.e., *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṇ*, *ṛ*, or *ḷ*.

It is quite possible that in Tamil *k* was first palatalized into *ch* and later simplified into *s*, as the latter sound is considered more refined.

I offer this explanation tentatively, but I believe that it covers all the cases in a satisfactory manner.

A BUFFALO SACRIFICE IN SALEM CITY.

BY F. J. RICHARDS, M.A., I.C.S. (RETIRED.)

THE sacrifice described below was witnessed by Mr. S. G. Roberts, I.C.S., and myself at about midnight on March 7th-8th, 1907, in the hamlet of Manakkâḍu, in the municipal limits of Salem City, and within a very short distance of the European Club.

The chief village deities of Manakkâḍu (which is inhabited mainly by ryots of the Paḷḷi caste) are Selli-amman and Mâri-amman. Of the cult of Selli-amman very little is recorded, though in Salem District it is fairly widespread.[1] She is identified with Kâlî. In her honour an annual festival is held every February or March, and in this festival Mâri-amman also takes part. In 1907 the festival began on February 19th (a Tuesday); and it was on the 17th day (a Thursday) that the sacrifice was performed.

On the evening of that day the processional image[2] of Mâri-amman is brought round to the Kâlî Temple, and, after the slaughter of a sheep in front of the temple, the two goddesses are borne, to the music of the village band, in procession round the village, Selli-amman's vehicle[3] being a lion and Mâri's a horse. In front of the goddesses walks the *sâmbân*, as the Pariah is called, whose privilege it is to slay the buffalo, and who is bound to observe a strict fast throughout the day of sacrifice; he grips with both his hands the heavy sacrificial knife, resting it on his left shoulder. The *sâmbân* is accompanied by his torch-bearer (*pandakkâran*), who is also a Pariah, both offices being hereditary. At each corner of the village the *sâmbân* is given a fowl and some eggs; he bites the fowl and sucks its blood, the eggs he swallows, shells and all. At intervals the goddesses are garlanded with jasmine and acacia, and coconuts are broken before them. The circuit of the village completed, the goddesses are carried " clock-wise " round Selli-amman's temple. The *vâhanams* are then lowered to the ground, and the images are reverently lifted up by the priests and their assistants. Each figure is held by two men, one on either side, and gently rocked to and fro to the accompaniment of a plaintive hymn, the gist[4] of which is as follows :—

> I invoke the great Vinâyaka, who graces the council of the mightier powers, to bless my swing-song in honour of the lady Sellândi, of Gingee, Queen who presides over the Chera realm.
>
> Her swinging throne rests on two mountains; the heavens form her canopy; the atmosphere enveils her; the splendent stars are her flags; her garland is the Nâga; a vessel is in her hand. O goddess, ruler supreme of this land, sister of Râma the famous bowman, mayest thou enjoy the swinging festival ![5]
>
> On either side are the fierce spirits, Sakini and Dakini, whose giant forms measure the length and breadth of the universe, and the great sages: a countless multitude adores thee. Mayest thou, Sellândi-Mâri delight in the graceful movement of the swing! May Indra and the Dêvas live for ever! May the sun and moon shine gloriously! May all the eternal spirits live in peace! May those that sing and those that hear live happily! May all the people of this vast earth be vouchsafed a long life of prosperity!

As soon as the swing-song is finished, the *Ûrkavaṇḍan* (headman of the village) slowly passes his right hand thrice round the head of each of the goddesses, holding in his hand a two anna bit to avert the Evil-Eye. The coin becomes the perquisite of the *pûjârî* (the priest who officiates in the shrine). The *tôṭṭi* (village-messenger) then proclaims by beat of

[1] *E.g.*, at Âttûr, Taḍâvûr, Kâri-mangalam, Mallasamudram, Chinna-Manali, Eḍappâḍi.

[2] The *utsava-vigraha*, or "festival-image" of metal, used only on festival occasions; so distinguished from the *mûla-vigraha*, or "cell-image" inside the shrine, which is usually fixed, and of stone, sometimes carved in human form, sometimes unshaped.

[3] The *vâhanam*, a sort of throne, of wood, paint, and plaster, mounted on a platform and carried in procession on the shoulders of men (or in the case of the bigger Brahmanic festivals, on a car). Each principal deity has his or her appropriate *vâhanam*, and some of the larger temples provide a different *vâhanam* for the presiding deity each time the image is taken in procession. There is no evidence to connect this practice with "animal-worship."

[4] I give an abridged version, slightly paraphrased.

[5] Swinging is often an element of ritual, and a tall stone swing (sometimes two or three) is a common adjunct to the temples of the *grâma-dêvatas*.

tom-tom that all females should go home, for none of the gentler sex may see the sacrifice.[6] During the sacrifice the doors of Selli-amman's shrine are closed.

Meanwhile a pit about 5 feet deep has been dug, about 50 yards in front of the temple, which faces north, and the buffalo victim is led to its edge. The victim is selected by the goddess herself in the course of the year; her votaries vow they will offer her a buffalo if their prayer is granted; if she accepts, she informs the fortunate owner in a dream on the eve of the sacrifice, and her *pûjârî* is inspired to announce her selection in the presence of the villagers. If more than one votary has received the divine warning, the *pûjârî* selects the buffalo which should be slaughtered, and the other candidates are sold for the benefit of the temple funds. It is immaterial whether the victim be full grown or a calf, but it must always be a male.

When all is ready the priest, shrieking in divine ecstasy, approaches the victim, places a garland of flowers round its neck, sprinkles red-ochre, sandal and saffron on its forehead and lays before it offerings of coconuts, plantains and rice.[7] He then pours consecrated water (*tîrtham*) on its head and back. In breathless silence the people wait for the beast to shiver,[8] the sign by which the goddess manifests her consent to the sacrifice. If the sign is delayed the *pûjârî* calls upon the goddess asking why she tarries. Immediately the sign is given, the *sâmbân* seizes his cleaver and crouches at a distance of about three yards from his victim, like a wild beast about to spring on its prey. The bystanders secure the hind legs of the victim, and, if necessary, a rope is passed over its horns and held fast in front.[9] The *sâmbân* then strides forward, and, taking careful aim, severs the neck with two or three blows. An attendant Pariah then rushes forward, mixes the blood with boiled rice, rolls it into a ball and hands it to the *sâmbân*, who conveys it to his mouth and then, preceded by the *pandakkâran*, rushes like a mad man round the village boundaries, at each of the four corners throwing a few grains of the blood-sodden rice into the air. The Pariahs at the graveside then drag the carcase of the victim to the grave and throw it in, together with a garland that it wore. Before the *sâmbân* can complete the circuit of the village, the grave must be filled with earth.[10] On his return the *sâmbân* runs to the front of the temple, and, after a few ecstatic screams, the spirit of the goddess leaves him; he prostrates thrice, shoulders his knife and walks away like a sane and sober man, and the *Ûrkavuṇḍan* provides him and his relatives with a feast. For fifteen days he must keep watch over the grave, lest dogs or jackals should disturb the buried victim. During these fifteen days no *pûjâ* is performed, but a light is kept burning in the temple.

The festival closes with a sacrifice of sheep or fowls on the 8th or 16th day after that of the buffalo, and a general feast (*Kumba-pûjâi*) of all the villagers.

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[6] Women on these occasions are peculiarly susceptible to divine influences, and during the progress of the goddesses through the village they are usually preceded by two or three females, quivering and swaying in a frenzy of "possession."

[7] It is said these offerings are made to the pit, and not to the victim. It would be unsafe to base any theory on this explanation unless it can be paralleled with instances elsewhere. The explanation may be purely local.

[8] Similar evidence of divine assent was required in classical Greece in connection with the cult of Apollo. See Dr. Farnell's *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. IV, pp. 254 and 387.

[9] When the *tîrtham* water is sprinkled on it the victim should face east; when it is slaughtered it should face north, towards the region over which the goddess (who bears the surname Vadabattira-Kâlî), presides. Thus the *sâmbân*, when he delivers the death stroke, faces west.

[10] Many plausible guesses could be offered to explain this prescription, but in the present paucity of evidence regarding the ritual of such sacrifices, it would be unsafe to theorize on this point.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN HINDU SOCIETY.

BY B. BONNERJEA, D.LITT.

IT has often been said that the position of woman in a society is the true test of civilized morality, and that her status varies directly as the civilization of the society to which she belongs. This statement, however, is misleading. In the English law of Blackstone's day women were liable to various disabilities, and the great jurist says with unconscious humour that the very being or legal existence of a married woman merged into that of her husband and that she had no separate existence.[1] On the other hand, from the recently discovered *Codes of Hammurabi* we find that Babylonian women enjoyed more legal rights than their more civilized sisters.[2] Does it then follow that the Babylonian civilization of the second millenium B.C. was on a higher level than that of Great Britain in the eighteenth century A.D. ? The position of women, therefore, is not an infallible test of civilization. Culture brings various responsibilities along in its trail, and the scale of actions grows and inequalities arise, which place entire populations at the mercy of the strongest. The social and judicial equality which women enjoy with men at the present day was not granted to them as their birthright, but is the gradual outcome of centuries of inferiority and oppression suffered by them under the iron heel of male despotism.

In the earliest epoch of human history man had no fixed habitation ; he was a migratory creature, living an ever-lasting nomadic life. With him woman had little, if any, ethical worth. She was regarded as the property of the strongest, a movable living thing, an object of bargain and sale, a means of gratifying one's lust.

The first indication of woman's social elevation occurs at a period when, at the transition of the nomadic life to a state of fixed habitation, man obtains a home ; when from a hunter he becomes an agriculturist, and feels the need of having someone at home to tend to his personal needs. This in time gave rise to the institution of marriage, and marriage in its turn contributed to the uplifting of womankind. But marriage, as we understand it today, does not seem to have existed in the primitive society of the pre-Vedic and even perhaps of the early post-Vedic period. From the *Mahâbhârata*[3] we learn that Pâṇḍu tells his wife Kuntî that in former times women were not kept subject to their husbands ; they had freedom of choice in whom they should marry, they could enjoy themselves as best they pleased, and they frequently had promiscuous love affairs. This practice was not only not considered in any way improper by the ancient Hindus, but was actually highly applauded by the Ṛṣis. It continued down to the time of Svetakeṭu, and was finally abolished by him when he saw a strange Brâhmaṇa take his mother away in the presence of his father.

According to Lewis H. Morgan[4] family has passed through five different stages before it has become what it is today. They are :

(1) Consanguine Family, founded upon the intermarriage of brothers and sisters, own and collateral, in a group ;

(2) Punaluan Family, founded upon the intermarriage of several sisters, own or collateral, with each other's husbands in a group, as also upon the intermarriage of several brothers, own or collateral, with each other's wives in a group ;

(3) Syndyasmian Family, founded upon marriage between single pairs, but without exclusive cohabitation ;

(4) Patriarchal Family, founded upon the marriage of one man with several wives ; and, lastly,

(5) Monogamian Family, founded upon marriage between single pairs, with exclusive cohabitation.

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[1] *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, ed. 1765, i, 430-433.

[2] Cf. Kohler and Preuss, *Aus dem babylonischen Rechtsleben*, iii, 8 ; Meissner, *Beiträge zum babylonischen Privatrechts*, 13.

[3] i, 122, 4 ff. [Tr. by P. C. Roy. Calcutta. 1883-1896].

[4] *Ancient Society*, 893 f.

Thus, looking at the history of the evolution of culture, we see that the present monogamic family is simply a modified form of what it used to be in former times. Of the first or incestuous form, certain ancient Hindu texts may be construed as bearing evidence. In a fragmentary song of the *Ṛg-Veda*[5] we are told that Yamî appears in support of marriage of brothers and sisters, while Yama, her husband, opposes it. But how far this evidence may be taken as conclusive is open to serious question, and different scholars have given diametrically opposite interpretations. Weber thinks that it undoubtedly points to a practice which was universal in former times and later became antiquated, whereas Macdonell and Keith[6] criticize Weber and are equally dogmatic in their denial. They say that "the dialogue of Yama and Yamî seems clearly to point to a prohibition of marriage of brother and sister."

Of the second form, or group marriage, no instance is known in the Hindu books, unless we take polyandry[7] or levirate and sororate[8] as relics of group marriage. Polyandry was undoubtedly known among the ancient Hindus, and there is the classical and oft-quoted example of Draupadî, who was married to the five Pâṇḍava brothers.[9] Speaking of Draupadî's case, J. D. Mayne says[10] that the most excellent precedents cited by the Pâṇḍava brothers of the "most moral woman," Jaṭilâ Gautamî, who dwelt with seven saints, and of Vârkshî, who dwelt with ten brothers, "whose souls have been purified with penance," were bad ones, being cases of saints who were above moral laws ; and he adds that in the *Râmâyaṇa* polyandry is mentioned with abhorrence. He sums up in favour of the view that sexual looseness rather than recognized polyandry is indicated.[11] It has also been argued that the Pâṇḍava brothers were Kṣatriyas, and as such they were allowed greater license with regard to women and were even allowed to contract the lowest form of marriages.[12] Other traces of polyandry are not wanting among the ancient Hindus. One of the law-books says : "A bride is given to the family of her husband and not to the husband alone,"[13] but the same book admits that such practices are forbidden now. Down to our own times there are traces of polyandry in the comparative freedom allowed to younger brothers towards their elder brothers' wives ; the relationship between them is that which has been termed "joking relationship" by modern anthropologists.[14]

The Hindus themselves recognized eight forms of marriages, some of which are still to be met with in different parts of India. The first, most honourable, and at the same time the most important form of marriage is known as the *Brâhma* marriage, in which the father gives the daughter in marriage to a bridegroom of good character and learned in the Vedas, the ceremony itself being performed by a Brâhmaṇa priest. The second form *Daiva* is

[5] x, 10. Compare L. von Schroeder, *Mysterium und Mimus in Rigveda* [Leipsic, 1908], 275 ff.

[6] *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* [London, 1912], i, 475.

[7] According to J. F. McLennan (*Studies in Ancient History*, 2nd series [London and New York, 1886], 86-107), a tendency to promiscuity was the original sexual relationship, and the first general modification of promiscuity was polyandry.

[8] Sir James G. Frazer (*Folklore in the Old Testament*, ii, 317 ; cf. *id.*, *Totemism and Exogamy*, ii, 144) says that "the sororate and the levirate are offshoots from one common root, a system of group marriage in which all the husbands were brothers and all the wives were sisters to each other, though not to their husbands ; and that system in its turn originated in a simple desire to get wives as easily and cheaply as possible." Prof. E. Westermarck however is opposed to this theory (*The History of Human Marriage*, iii, 208, 262, 263 f., and Chapters XXIX-XXXI).

[9] Winternitz, "Notes on the Mahâbhârata, etc.," *JRAS.*, 1897, p. 735 ff.

[10] *A Treatise on Hindu Law and Usage*,[4] 64 f.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

[12] *Laws of Manu*, iii, 26.

[13] *Âpastamba*, ii, 10, 27, 3 f. (Tr. by G. Bühler [*S.B.E.*], Oxford, 1897).

[14] In 1926 I suggested the possibility of this being a survival of polyandry among the Hindus (*L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, 86 [published Paris, 1927]). In an article published in 1929 (Atul K. Sur, "Some Bengali Kinship Usages," *Man in India*, ix [1929], pp. 72-79) there is a suggestion that the "younger brother-in-law licence" and the "wife's younger sister licence" are remnants of levirate and sororate respectively.

extinct now ; it existed when a ruling chief gave his daughter to a Brâhmaṇa for performing a special service, such as the *aśvamedha*. The third form, *Ârsa*, was marriage by purchase, the bride's parents having to pay a certain sum of money to the bridegroom or his parents. This form of marriage is still very much in vogue in certain parts of India, e.g., in Bengal. Gujarât and among the Râjpûts of Kâṭhiâwâṛ. It is prevalent only where the law of hypergamy prevails ; that is to say, where there is a law that a girl must marry in a caste equal to if not superior to her own. In sections where hypergamy prevails, if the parents failed to marry their daughters in an equal or higher caste, they would themselves be reduced to the rank in which the daughter marries. The fourth form of marriage, *Prâjâpatya*, is merely a variation of the first; it is that in which the god Prajâpati is invoked to shower his blessings on the pair. The fifth form, *Asura*, is that where the bride is purchased ; it is still practised by the lower Hindu castes or even higher Hindu castes in parts where they are much degraded by coming in contact with aboriginal tribes. The sixth form is the *Gândharva*, or marriage by courtship ; it is a love marriage in which the consent of the parents is asked for after the parties themselves have seen each other. The seventh form was by capture ; it may have been practised in former days, but is unknown for all practical purposes at the present day. The eighth and the lowest form is known as the *Paiśâca* marriage or marriage by craft ; it was that which originated in the rape of a swooning or unconscious bride. Out of these eight forms, only the *Brâhma, Ârsa, Asura* and *Gândharva* are the four forms of present Hindu marriages, and the *Brâhma* marriage is the commonest.[15] At no period in the whole history of the Hindus can the other four forms be said to have been universal. They occurred sporadically rather than as a general rule, and there is no conclusive evidence in the Hindu texts to prove that Hindu marriages evolved out of promiscuity, neither is there any evidence to prove that they did not.

Coming down to our times we find that the Hindu family is in theory at least, a polygynous one ; whereas in practice it is strictly monogamous. In other words, though there is absolutely nothing to prevent a man from marrying a hundred wives if he so chose. in actual practice such a thing is not tolerated, except in those instances where the first wife remains childless. In such cases the man may marry again, but even then the first wife is held in greater respect than the subsequent one ; she has precedence over the subsequent one in all religious duties ; she may exercise the right of adopting a son if her husband dies without progeny ; and if her husband dies intestate she has the precedence. And a peculiar sanctity has from time immemorial been attached to first marriages because such marriages were regarded as having been contracted not from lustful desires but from a sense of duty. The ancient books of the Hindus seem to be in favour of monogamy rather than of polygamy, although it is true that none of them clearly expresses that a man should marry only one wife ; nor do they clearly forbid a plurality of wives.[16] Âpastamba says that if a man has a wife who is willing to perform her share in religious duties and who bears sons. then it is not proper for a man to have more than one wife.[17] And according to Manu mutual fidelity should continue till death.[18] In fact, we should be quite correct in saying that the sole cause of polygyny among the Hindus is the desire for offspring, and that polygynous unions are tolerated when the first wife is childless. Moreover there are few Hindu families who would consent to give their daughters in marriage to a man already married and whose wife is still living. Generally in case of a childless wife the difficulty is solved by adopting a child. The practice of *niyoga* of the ancients was actuated by the same desire of having children, for

[15] Cf. Mrs. S. Stevenson, *The Rites of the Twice-Born* [*The Religious Quest of India*, ed. by J. N. Farquhar and H. D. Griswold. Oxford University Press, 1920], p. 55 ff.

[16] Cf. *Laws of Manu*, v, 168 : ix, 101 f. ; J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte* [*Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie*, vol. ii, fasc. 8], p. 65.

[17] *Âpastamba*, ii, 5, 11, 12.

[18] *Laws of Manu*, ix, 101.

the levir did not marry his brother's widow, but simply had intercourse with her.[19] Levirate might have been a right of succession to be enjoyed by the heir when he came to his inheritance, but the Hindu lawgivers regarded it as an unpleasant obligation and a duty towards the dead. One form of polygyny, however, was expressly permitted by the ancient texts. The *Smṛtis* allowed concubinage, that is those who were not married in due form, but were still entitled to maintenance and so on[20]; and carnal knowledge of the concubines by any one else was considered as adultery.[21]

As to the actual prevalence of polygyny in modern India some interesting facts may be gathered from the latest statistics. In the Census Report for 1921—the 1931 census is not yet finished—for the whole of India, including Hindus, Muhammadans and others, the number of married females per 1,000 males is given as 1,008, or exactly 0·8 per cent of the whole population. In certain typically Hindu or Hinduized sections, such as Bengal and Bombay, there is no evidence of polygyny; and Madras and Bihar and Orissa, where the figures are 1,061 and 1,034 respectively, have a very much mixed population consisting of Âryan, Dravidian and Australoid peoples.[22] Polygyny among the Hindus then is more imaginary than real.

Now coming to the actual position of women in Hindu society we find that in theory the husband is the absolute owner of the wife, whom, in ancient times, he could even put to death, the only penalty being the fine of a leathern bag, a bow, a goat or a sheep according to her caste.[23] And in another text it is mentioned clearly that " by a girl, a young woman, or even an aged one nothing must be done independently, even in her own house. In childhood a female must be subject to her father, in youth to her husband, when her lord is dead to her sons; a woman must never be independent." And only in one case Manu recognized the free will of a maiden in the matter of her own marriage: if her father failed to provide her with a husband within three years after her attaining majority she might marry whom she pleased;[24] but by her marriage she passed from the absolute control of her father into the absolute control of her husband, whom she was required to worship as a god.[25] Cânakya, who according to the Greek historians lived about 2250 years ago, has nothing very good to say about the qualities of women. In one of his *ślokas* he admonishes, saying: " Never put your trust on those with claws [meaning tigers, lions and so on], those with horns [such as bulls, buffaloes, etc.], rivers, *women* and the royalty; for if you do, you will come to grief in the end."[26] And in another place he says that a woman is " adorned " only if she has a husband.[27] The reason for this marked inequality of women was, according to Manu, because the qualities attributed to women were laziness, vanity, impurity, dishonesty, malice and evil conduct.[28] So inferior were women to men that even a male child was regarded as more deserving of honour than they, and if there were a number of women walking along and there was a male child among them, the child was to walk in front and the women were to follow him.[29] The Hindu family being patriarchal, men had

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[19] J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, 47.

[20] *Nârada*, xiii, 26, tr. by J. Jolly [*S.B.E.*, xxxiii, Oxford, 1889].

[21] *Nârada*, xii, 79; J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, 64 f.

[22] *Census of India*, 1921, vol. I, India, part i, "*Report*" by J. A. Marten [Calcutta, 1924], p. 152, § 126.

[23] *Laws of Manu*, xi, 139.

[24] *Laws of Manu*, ix, 90 f.

[25] *Laws of Manu*, v, 154.

[26] " *Nakhinâṁ ca nadînâṁ ca, śriṅginâṁ śastra-dhârinâṁ.*
Viśvâso naiva kartavyaḥ strîshu râjakuleshu ca."

[27] " *Nârînâṁ bhûshanaṁ patiḥ.*"

[28] *Laws of Manu*, ix, 13-18.

[29] *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa*, 1, 3, 1, 9 : Sylvain Lévi, *La doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brâhmaṇas*, 157.

precedence in all social and religious affairs, and only in one instance was a wife given an equal right with her husband; in all solemn sacrifices the wife of the sacrificant helped in the religious ceremony along with her husband.[30] From a study of the Hindu laws and customs we find that in the Brâhmanical codes the greatest liberty was allowed to men, and the most complete bondage imposed upon the wife; further it is evident that proprietory rights rather than personal self-respect was deemed the basis of conjugal obligation. This, in substance, is also the teaching of a modern Hindu girl. In practice a married woman is the mistress of her own household. She has no voice in outside affairs, but her authority is undisputed at home; and this authority is not won by force, but is the result of mutual affection and understanding between her and her husband. In other words, it is simply a division of labour between them. The husband supports the family, takes care of all matters relating to the outside, bears alone the burden of worldly worries, while the wife manages the house and its affairs, and sees to the upbringing of the children and their education. Each lives in a different sphere, and shares each other's joys and sorrows. Finally, even in the ancient books a wife is enjoined to co-operate with her husband in pursuing the three great objects of life—religious merit, wealth and enjoyment,—and to neglect any one of these is considered to be a great sin. A woman who faithfully carries out these commands is regarded as a perfect woman and is called a *Padminî* or " a lotus-like woman "; the three other kinds of women being *Citriṇî*, or " a woman of varied accomplishments," *Śâṅkhinî*, or " a conch-like woman " and *Hastinî*, or " an elephant-like woman."

Hindu law, too, recognized the rights of a married woman to her own property. Thus the *Strîdhana*, or married woman's property, is fully described in the *Arthaśâstra*.[31] It consists of presents from parents, brothers, sisters, and so on, as also property acquired by herself in any way. When she died intestate, her daughters, or only unmarried daughters, inherited it; and she could leave it by will to whomsoever she pleased. But during her lifetime her husband might dispose of it with her consent in case of distress,[32] and had control of it.

And, to sum up, let me quote the definition of a wife given in the Hindu classic *Mahâbhârata*[33]:—

" A wife is half the man, his truest friend;
A loving wife is a perpetual spring
Of virtue, pleasure, wealth; a faithful wife
Is his best aid in seeking heavenly bliss;
A sweetly-speaking wife is a companion
In solitude, a father in advice,
A mother in all seasons of distress,
A rest in passing through life's wilderness."

So who can say that the position of a modern Hindu woman is in any way inferior to that of her Western sister?

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30 H. Hubert and M. Mauss, " Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice," *L'Année Sociologique*, ii (1897-1898), p. 78, note 3.

31 *Arthaśâstra*, iii, 2, 59, cited by E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, ii, 426.

32 W. H. Macnaughton, *Principles of Hindu Law* [Calcutta, 1880], p. 33 f., cited by E. Westermarck, *ibid.*

33 i. 3028 ff., quoted by (Sir) Monier Williams, *Religious Thought and Life in India* [London, 1883], p. 328.

A BALLAD OF KERALA.

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(*Continued from page 116.*)

He then settles some property for the sole enjoyment of his sister, for whom he shows the greatest solicitude. Continuing the discourse with his brother, he proceeds to declare his wishes in regard to his wife Kuñjaṉṉûli :—

Êṟu[41] vayassilum keṭṭi ñânum	" In her seventh year I married
Alatturappenṟṟe ponmakaḷe	" The only daughter of Alatturappen,
Maṉiyumkoṭṭappenṟṟe marumakaḷe	" The niece of Maṉiyomkoṭṭappen,
Âlattuvîṭṭile Kuñjannûli	" Kuñjaṉṉûli of Âlattuvîḍu.
Achchâram nûṟṟonnu chollîṟṟuṇḍu	" One hundred and one guarantees have been given.
Nanmûṟtam koṇḍu kuḷichu keṭṭi	" Tying the *tâli* under good auspices,
Kettiyapandalil koṇḍu pônnu	" She was conducted home directly,
Avarume achcharum chollîṟṟuṇḍu	" And they in their turn have given assurances.
Ayirattonninṟṟe venma ponnum	" The value in gold of thousand and one guarantees
Avalkâyittanne kotittiṟṟuṇḍu	" Has been given on her behalf.
Vîṭṭupâtṟavum tannittuṇḍu	" Household vessels have been given as well.
Avaḷêyum nîyum maṟakkarute	" You should not forget her.
Panattinum kotichchaṅṅayakkarutu	" Send her not away on monetary considerations.
Avaḷum vaṟakku mâyi poyateṅgil	" Should she quarrel and leave you
Paraññu vaśattâkki rakshikêṇam	" You should persuade her and protect her."

Then he speaks of other household affairs : " The *mênônmâṟ* of Ambâḍikûlôm, when their crops once failed, took from us on loan seven thousand *paras* of paddy and seeds, which I lent them at a low rate of interest, on mortgage of their property recorded in copper-plate deed. I warn you not to offend them or proceed against them to secure their lands." He then tells his brother that he has a son by his uncle's daughter Tumbôlâṟchcha, who is fair to see. As he has given him nothing, he should see that his son is suitably provided, and well educated. He again adverts to his sister, saying that he has bestowed on her a *kalari* and some lands, which his brother should not covet :—

Kalariyil pûja kaṟippikkêṇam	" The worship at the *kalari* should be maintained.
Mêlâḷâyi pôyi kaṟippichchôḷu	" You should supervise the ceremonies.
Nâṭṭukârokkayum ettumallo	" People of the entire locality will assemble ;
Avarêyum nîyaṅṅu âśrayikka	" Look to them for support.
Êriya muṇḍum paṇavum kiṭṭum	" Presents of cloth and money you get in plenty
Kuttôḍe paṭṭum sammânikkum	" And presents of silk.
Kuṟaññônnu peṅṅalkum koṭuttukoḷḷu	" Give the sister a share :

[41] The references to the marriages of Aṟṟummaṇammel Kunhiraman with Uṇṇiâṟchcha, and of Ârômaṟ with Kuñjaṉṉûli, make it clear that marriages among the Tiyar were then as they now are, *patrilocal.* At the present day the N. Malabar Tiyar present the strange phenomena of being matrilineal so far as succession to property is concerned, while continuing to be patrilocal, the bride being invariably conducted ceremoniously to the bridegroom's house, where she lives during the lifetime of her husband. Indeed property passed from father to son in the earlier days, as Ârômaṟ has described the inheritance of property in his family, the matrilineal form of descent being unknown. Considerable dowries were given with the bride in marriage, as is clear from the dowries bestowed on the marriages of Uṇṇiâṟchcha and Kuñjaṉṉûli described above, the system of dowries being intimately connected with the inheritance of property from father to son, the daughter getting no share after marriage. The institution of dowry no longer prevails among the Tiyar, having disappeared apparently with the growth of the matrilineal form of descent with the *Marumakkaṭṭâyam* system of inheritance, which obtains at present.

Avaḷe mushichchalvaruttarutu	"Do not offend her.
Nêṟ peṅṅaḷuṭe kâriyam ôṟtukûṭa	"I am pained to think of our sister;"
Sâmôdam kannîr niṟaññoṟuki	And freely flowed the tears.
Anusâram kêlppichchirikkunnêram	And thus he continued discoursing,
Soṟṅavum peṅṅale ôrtukoṇḍu	And meditating on his dear sister
Dêvârakkôṭṭil irunnavanum	Remaining in the hall of worship.
Annoṭṭu pâtira chenna nêram	That night, when past midnight,
Âṟṟummaṇammele Uṇṇiâṟchcha	Uṇṇiâṟchcha of Âṟṟummaṇammel
Uṟaṅṅunna uṟakkattil sopnam kaṇḍu	In her sleep had a dream.
Kalaribhârambaru sopnam kâṭṭi	The guardian deity of the *kalari* appeared to her in dream.
Ennuṭe âṅṅaḷa Ârômuṇṇi	My brother Arômuṇṇi,
Putturamvîṭṭile Ârômuṇṇi	Ârômaṟ of Puttûram house,
Puttariaṅgam kuṟichchirippe	Has resolved on proceeding to an *aṅgam* fight.
Ñeṭṭi eṟunîṟṟu Uṇṇiâṟchcha	Uṇṇiâṟchcha gets up startled,
Kaḷari bhârambare ninandavaḷum	And prays to the deity,
Kârkûndal nannâyi kuḍaññu keṭṭi	Gathers and ties up her hair,
Dîpam koḷutti pôkunnuṇḍu	And lighting the lamp goes out of the room.
Pûnkôṟi châttanṟṟe kûval kêṭṭu	Hearing the cock crow,
Paṭakâḷi muṟṟattum chenniraṅṅi	She advances to the courtyard,
Bhûmiyum toṭṭu neṟukil vechchu	And does obeisance to the goddess of earth.
Sûrya bhagavâne keitoṟutu	Worships the sun,
Muṟṟamaṭiyum kaṟikkunnuṇḍe	And attends to sweeping the courtyard.

Then she gets water and *umikkari*[42] ready, and wakes up her father and mother.[43] The latter enquires why she is in a hurry. Uṇṇiâṟchcha tells them of her dream, expressing her anxious desire to see her brother before he goes to fight. Hearing this, the father remarks :—

Kaṭiññûl garbhavum niṇakkallâṇe	"At this period of first pregnancy,
Palatume sopnavum kâṇum môḷe	"You are apt to have dreams, my daughter."
Appôl parayunnu Uṇṇiâṟchcha	Uṇṇiâṟchcha replies :
Chila kâlam sopnavum okkum achchâ	"Dreams sometimes come true, father.
Ñânenṟe vîṭṭôḷam pôṭṭe amme	"Mother, let me just go home."
Appôl parayunnu ammayallo	The mother replies :
Ninnuṭe chollinnu naṭakkayilla	"I shall not be dictated to by you.
Ninne iviṭêkku kuṭanna pinne	"Ever since you were brought here
Enṟe makannu sukhamillallo	"My son has not been well."
Appôḷ parayunnu Uṇṇiâṟchcha	Uṇṇiâṟchcha retorts :
Niṅṅaṭe makanenna kuṭannatendê	"Why, then, did your son marry me?
Niṅṅalku sukhattôḍe iruttâṟnelle	"You could have kept him in comfort.
Enne iviṭêkku kuṭannatendê	"Why was I brought here at all?"

The mother observes : "It is only eight days since you returned, and if you are going again, my son can't accompany you. He is always busy at the *kalari*." The mother proposes that she may go accompanied by a Pâṇan. Uṇṇiâṟchcha is wroth at the suggestion :—

Puttûram vîṭṭile peṇṇuṅṅaḷum	"The ladies of Puttûram house
Pâṇanṟṟe kûṭe naṭanniṭṭilla	"Have never gone escorted by Pâṇans.
Niṅṅaṭe taṟakkam paṟaññu niṅṅal	"You no doubt referred to your practice.
Paṇḍêkkum ñaṅṅaḷum Chêkônmâre	"From early times have we been *Chekoṟ*.
Patineṭṭu sthânavum ñaṅṅalkkuṇḍê	"We are of the highest rank.
Taṇḍâyma sthanavum kîṟvâṟchayum	"We have the status of leaders

[42] The charred husk of the paddy, which is still used throughout Malabar for cleaning the teeth.

[43] The daughter-in-law always addresses her father-in-law and mother-in-law as father and mother, respectively.

Chêkônpadaviyum tanniṭṭuṇḍu	"And we have been granted the rank of Chekoṟ.
Chêrânperumâl tamburânum	"The emperor Chêramân Perumâḷ,
Niṟapaṟayum viḷakkum vechchu	"With the lighted lamp and the measureful of rice,
Âditya chandṟane sâkshiyâkki	"With the sun and moon as witnesses.
Nâlu kûṭṭavume tanniṭṭuṇḍu	"Four assemblies have been given us.
Iṅṅine sthânum irippuḷḷappôḷ	"When we have such dignities
Pânenṟe kûṭe ñânpônô ammê	"How can I go, mother, with a Pâṇan ?
Ponnum paṇavume ôṟtu niṅṅal	"Wealth is your only consideration."
Ennu paraññaval pôkunnuṇḍe	Saying this she moves along,
Kannîrum kaiyayipôkunnuṇḍu	And weeping she goes.

Going inside, she opens the room, takes a jar of oil, rubs her hair profusely with oil and walks along unattended until she reaches the riverside, where she asks a Kaṇakkan boy to row her across. Not having any money to pay the ferry toll, the boy refuses to row her across until she removes and gives him one of her gold ornaments. When they reach the opposite shore the boy learns who she is, when he falls at her feet, returns the piece of gold and pleads for pardon. Uṇṇiâṟchcha continues her journey until she reaches the Putturam fields. Ârômaṟ, surprised to see his sister coming, wonders how she got the news. . . . His mother replies that she could have known only by divine intercession. The daughter approaching falls at her mother's feet, while the latter blesses and comforts her. At sight of Uṇṇiâṟchcha, the Vâṟunnôr and the Nâyars rise up, when Ârômaṟ makes a sign to them to sit, saying that it is none but his sister that is coming. Ârômaṟ enquires how and why she has come. Uṇṇiâṟchcha, breathless with emotion, replies as follows :—

Innale pâdira nêrattiṅgal	"Yesterday when past midnight
Uṟakkattil sopnavum kaṇḍu ñânum	"I had a dream, and
Nêram pulaṟchchakku eṇiṟṟu ñânum	"I got up at daybreak,
Aṭitaḷi vêgam kaṟichchitallô	"And, finishing my household work,
Ammôḍu yâtṟayum chôdichappôḷ	"Approached mother for leave to go.
Pânane tuṇa kûṭṭi pôvân cholli	"Thereupon she asked me to take a Pâṇan with me,
Âvaṟi tanne naḍannu ñânum	"Straight away I walked along alone,
Chodichchariññu pônnitallo	"And found my way home."

Ârômaṟ then guides her inside and tells her of his engagement to fight, when she falls unconscious.

Śaṅgile veḷḷam iṭukkunnuṇḍu	Water is taken in a conch shell,
Nûṟṟonnu mantram japichu ûti	And chanting one hundred and one magical spells.
Uṇṇiâṟchchakku tannir koḍukkun-nuṇḍu	Is given to Uṇṇiâṟchcha to drink.

On regaining consciousness he consoles her, explaining the reasons which had weighed with him in accepting the engagement. Taking off a ring he gives it to her, saying : "If "a son is born to you, let him be brought up bearing my name, and wearing my ring. He "should be well trained in physical and fencing exercises, and if any one should ask for his "services for *aṅgam* fighting, don't you stand in the way of his going. You should, on the con- "trary, see that he is sent with those who need his services. Let not the prestige of the land suffer, "nor the *kalari* be dishonoured or its name and fame allowed to suffer in the least. Father's "fame is at stake : father is very old, and while I live I cannot see him killed by anybody. "When in the days of my boyhood, father was engaged in single combats, aunt (father's sister) "bore it like a bold woman. Grandmother also was then alive. In the same manner should "you bear up. In the name of our guardian deity do not gainsay me, my sister."

Having thus consoled his sister, Ârômaṟ continues his ceremonies late into the night, until he is startled by sobs, and, turning round, sees Kuñjaṇṇûli, his wife. "If you are going

to this fight, I shall come with you to witness it," says she, giving vent to her pent-up grief, and falls at his feet, crying, "Should you be slain in the fight, how am I ever to forget you."

Kâriruḷkkotta muḍi aṟaku	"With beautiful jet-black hair
Pañjami chandṟanôdotta neṟṟi	"And forehead as the moon on the fifth lunar day,
Kuññi mukhavum kuṟiya kaṇṇum	"Small face and round eyes,
Tattamma chuṇḍum paviṟa pallum	"Parrot's lips and pearly teeth,
Ârômal tâḍi arimban mîśa	"Well shaped beard and graceful moustache,
Eviṭa vechchu ñân marannîtêṇḍu	"How I would miss them all !"
Eṭaneññu poṭṭi karaññu peṇṇu	Thus she laments, broken hearted,
Bôdhamkeṭṭaṅṅine vîṇupôyi	And falls down unconscious.
Atutâne kânunnu Ârômarum	Ârômaṟ seeing her great grief
Kiṭukiṭe poṭṭi karaññu Chêkôn	Is likewise moved to tears
Onniṇḍu kêlkênampeṇkiḍâvê	And implores her to listen to him :—
Ikkaṇḍatokke niṇakkâne	"All that you see here belongs to you.
Aṅgattil tôṟṟu marichchateṅgil	"If I should die in the fight
Ennuṭe[44] anujanâm Uṇṇikkaṇṇan	"My brother Uṇṇikkaṇṇan
Ninnâyum oṭṭum oṟikkayilla	"Will not abandon you.
Niṅṅalorumichchu irunnu kolvin	"May you both live together."
Appôḷ paṟayunnu Kuñjaṇṇûli	Kuñjaṇṇûli replies :
Patinâṟu vayassu naṭappenikku	"I am but sixteen now
Ippôl ñanoru peṇṇâyuḷḷu	"And am just on the threshold of womanhood.
Irupatturaṇḍu vayassu niṅṅalkkallo	"While you are only twenty-two."

He explains how he cannot stay at home, and send his father to fight. So he is going to the *aṅgam* though the fates are against him, and he is certain to come by death. He assures her, however, that he will not be defeated and slain, but fears he may be a victim to foul play. Having thus consoled her, Ârômaṟ asks his brother to fetch his father, whom he consults as to sending a reliable person to sharpen the *churika*.[45] Ârômaṟ objects to sending his cousin Chandu, observing that he will play him false, as he bears him a grudge, having objected to Uṇṇiâṟchcha being given to Chandu in marriage. His father remarks that Chandu was brought up as his own child, since the loss of both his parents while he was yet a child, and is thoroughly trustworthy. Chandu is accordingly sent for, despite the misgivings of Ârômaṟ. Chandu comes and is entrusted with the *churikas*, solemnly promising to be faithful to Ârômaṟ. Uṇṇiâṟchcha then serves him food, when the following dialogue ensues :—

Onniṇḍu[46] kêlkêṇam Chandwaṅṅeḷê	"Just hear me, my brother.
Uḷḷil mushichchal karutavêṇḍa	"Do not harbour any ill feeling,
Ômana mukham vâṭṭam tîṟttîṭêṇḍu	"I shall cheer you up and make you happy.

[44] Aromaṟ here expresses a wish that his brother may espouse her on his death, with a view to protect her and save her from widowhood, in consideration of her very young age. This no doubt indicates the *levirate* as the custom is called which requires a widow to wed her husband's brother or some one else of his close kinsmen. The more common form is the junior *levirate*—the widow marrying the younger brother. The custom no longer prevails anywhere in North Malabar.

[45] A dagger, small sword (Gundert., p. 373).

[46] Uṇṇiâṟchcha feels that Chandu may be harbouring malice towards Ârômaṟ as the latter had stood in the way of his marrying her; and so in her great anxiety to save her brother, she tries to persuade Chandu that as soon as Ârômaṟ returns victorious, she will separate herself from her husband and be a dutiful wife to Chandu. It is evident that the latter has harrassed her not a little and that, though perfectly tired of his advances, she in her then frame of mind, actuated with the singleness of purpose of saving Ârômaṟ, is prepared to sacrifice herself if she succeeds to enlist Chandu's goodwill in favour of Ârômaṟ. Uṇṇiâṟchcha in this shows her great selfless devotion to Ârômaṟ. A heroine of repute, she was well known for the great endurance and strength of character she displayed in her moments of trial.

Ennuṭe âṅṅaḷa kuññiyaṅṅala	" My dear and devoted brother
Puttariyaṅgattinu Pôkunnuṇḍu	" Is proceeding on his first fight,
Tuṇa kûṭi pôkunnatu niṅṅalâne	" And it's you who accompanies him.
Onniṇḍucheyyêṇam Chandwâṅṅale	" Just hear me, brother.
Âṅṅaḷa angattiljayichu vannâl	" No sooner does Ârômaṟ return victorious
Âṟṟum maṇammênnu vâkkoṟichchu	" Than shall I separate myself from Âṟṟum-maṇammel
Niṅṅalku peṇṇâyi irinnukoḷḷâm	" And remain your dutiful wife."
Paṇḍu paraññu chatichchôḷallê	" Haven't you already played me false ?
Îppôre nîyum maṟannupôyô	" Have you now forgotten all that ?
Orukuṟi nin vâkku viswasichchu	" Once I believed you,
Ninṟṟe arikattu vannu ñânum	" And when I came to you,
Muṟṟamaṭikkunna chûlukoṇḍu	" You used the broomstick.
Entinnaviṭem paṟayunnu ñân	" Why should I recall the rest ?
Âṟṟum manammêl varuvân cholli	" You asked me to Âṟṟummaṇammel
Pâtira râvatṟa neḍurâvuḷḷappôḷ	" In the dead of night.
Kumaram puṟa ñânum nîntivannu	" I swam across the Kumarm river,
Nî kiṭakkum muṟiyil ñân vannappôḷ	" And when I stepped into your room,
Tuppum kôḷâmbi koṇḍenneriññu	" You flung the spittoon at me.
Annu nî cheyitatu marannittilla	" I have not forgiven you that."

Uṇṇiaṟchcha sheds bitter tears at his malicious words, and continues to plead for Ârômaṟ.

Koñjipaṟayalla Uṇṇiâṟchcha	" Don't you flirt, Uṇṇiâṟchcha ;
Ninnuṭe mâyaṅṅal ñanaṟiyum	" I know your wiles.
Ammâvane tanne ôṟttiṭṭaṇe	" Only out of regard for uncle
Ninnêyum ñanonnum cheyyâttatu	" Do I spare you."
Eḷa muḷa poṭṭiyalaṟumvaṇṇam	As young bamboos crackling in the woods,
Neññattaḷichchu karaññavaḷum	She cries, beating her breast :
Âṅṅaḷa yaṅgam jayichchu vannâl	" As soon as my brother returns successful,
Niṅṅalku peṇṇâyi irikkum ñane	" I swear, I shall be your wife.
Kalarîbhârambharâm achchanâṇe	" Upon my father I swear.
Ñânparaññatu satyamâṇe	" I speak the truth."

Ârômaṟ's father cautions Chandu that, as the blacksmith's house is in the vicinity of Ariṅṅôṭêṟ's, he should not be tempted by the latter's enticements, or turn round, or converse with anybody on the way. He should particularly guard himself against the wiles of Ariṅṅô-ṭeṟ's beautiful daughters :—

Muṭitinmêl koṭikeṭṭiya Kuñjaṇṇûli	" Kuñjaṇṇûli, who does up her locks on the forehead ;
Iruṭṭathoḷiminnum Kuṭṭimâṇi	" Kuṭṭimâṇi, who shines even in the dark :
Iṅṅine raṇḍallô penkiṭâṅṅal	" These are the two girls he has.
Ninne avaraṅṅu kaṇṭateṅgil	" If they should see you,
Keikoṇḍu mâḍi viḷikkum ninne	" They will beckon to you and call you."

Chandu solemnly promises to be true and faithful to the last. His uncle blesses him and sends him on his errand. Chandu walks along until he reaches Kôlôstṟi nâḍu,[47] and goes by the way of Ariṅṅôṭeṟ's house, which he was expressly asked to avoid. Ariṅṅôṭeṟ recognizes him, and shrewdly guessing that the bundle contains *churikas*, advances and invites him just to refresh himself at his house for a while. Chandu refuses, when Ariṅṅôṭeṟ,

Koraṭṭattu[48] marunnu kaṭichumkoṇḍu	Employing a drug, which he eats,
Vîṭṭil kayariṭṭu pôṇam Chandu	Repeats his invitation.

(*To be continued.*)

[47] *Kôlôstṟi nâḍu* or the kingdom of the Kolattiris, a dynasty of rulers who ruled over the greater part of what is now North Malabar. The line is now represented by the Chirakkal Tamburan or the Raja of Chirakkal, with his headquarters at Cannanore. The family now enjoys a Malikhana allowance of Rs. 24,000 per year from the Government.

[48] Malabar is pre-eminently the land of magic, which is considered most potent and capable of both good and evil.

REMARKS ON THE NICOBAR ISLANDERS AND THEIR COUNTRY.

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(Continued from page 59.)

Among the advantages presented by the site over any other in or near the harbour, and which, therefore, led to its selection, were that—(*a*) it was well raised, exposed to every breeze there being no higher land within a considerable radius, and commanded both entrances to the harbour ; (*b*) the greater portion of the site was under grass, and therefore very little clearing of jungle and undergrowth had to be undertaken before the necessary number of buildings could be erected ; and (*c*) extensive grass heaths, suitable for grazing large herds of cattle, such as it was desired to establish, stretched for many miles northwards ; while the drawbacks and disadvantages were not so immediately apparent, but soon proved to be (1) the extensive foreshore of pestiferous black mud with, here and there, exposed coral reefs, which skirted the three sides of the small promontory on which the settlement was planted ; (2) the existence of a large fetid swamp, measuring some 40 acres on the north-east border of the station, and a few small swamps and *jhîls* in other portions of the same area ; and (3) the poverty of the soil, consisting mainly of polycistina clay, and the difficulty consequently found not only in cultivating it successfully or utilising it in any other way, such as in brick, tile or pot-making, but also in draining it. The two first of these drawbacks would, however, it was thought, be ere long successfully overcome.

The services of the hulk *Blenheim*, a well-known East Indiaman, which was anchored in the harbour for the first five years (*viz.*, till April 1874) proved useful to the pioneers of the settlement both in affording accommodation while the buildings were being erected, and as a sanitarium to those subsequently requiring a change from the shore.

The average strength at which the convict gang was maintained varied during the nineteen years from 172 to 308 men, the mean average being about 235. The number with which the colony was started was 262 convicts.

The protective force, consisting of Madras sepoys averaging between 50·65, and police 15·30, usually aggregated about 80 men, while the free residents, exclusive of the crew of the station steamer, which was first granted in February 1884, consisting of Government officials, employés, cocoanut-traders and, in late years, children of free and convict settlers, ranged between 20 and 50. The total number of residents (free and convict) rarely, therefore, exceeded 400, and was in some years so low as 300.

The officer in charge was one of the Assistant or Extra Assistant Superintendents on the Port Blair Establishment ; when available, a European officer was detailed from his regiment to the command of the Madras Infantry detachment, and a medical subordinate (an apothecary or hospital assistant) was in charge of the hospitals.

The experiences of the first few years proved most trying to the pioneers of the infant colony, as evidenced by the high sick-rate among all classes, notwithstanding the adoption of many precautionary measures. This state of things was almost entirely due to the malaria for which the harbour has, from remote times, been notorious. It, therefore, soon became evident that, until some marked improvement occurred in the sanitary condition of the locality, it would be necessary to avail ourselves largely of the facilities afforded by the visits of the mail steamer, which in the first few years communicated once every six weeks, and subsequently once every four weeks, to effect reliefs at short intervals of all free residents, and to transfer to Port Blair all cases of convict patients requiring change of air for their recovery.

In the case of the free establishment a residence of, at one time, three months and, at another time, of six months usually qualified for a relief, but, in some instances, the stay was voluntarily prolonged to periods of from one to four or more years. In the case of convicts,

except when recommended for a change by the medical officer, they were, during a great portion of the period under review, required to pass about three years before they became eligible for transfer. This was not so great a hardship as it might otherwise appear, for further experience had proved that the first year of residence was usually the most trying and that, owing to this circumstance more work could be accomplished by those who had thus, in a measure, become acclimatised than by new arrivals. The practice, therefore, proved beneficial in enabling greater progress to be made.

Indeed, it often occurred that on becoming eligible for transfer to Port Blair, some of the convicts would prefer to remain at the Nicobars, so that it was found in February 1888 that of the 293 prisoners then at Nancowry, 88 had passed more than three years, and of that number 20 had been there from five to fifteen years without a change.

Although the facility of transferring the most sickly cases to Port Blair for change and treatment, and obtaining selected men in their place, was freely availed of, the hospital returns were, for most years, very high, and if the deaths and sick-rate at the Andamans of those recently transferred from the Nicobars had been also taken into account, the statistics would have proclaimed more clearly than they did the actual amount of mischief caused by the malarious climate.

Although, in spite of the disastrous experiences of the Moravian Missionaries a hundred years ago, the Nicobar fever can probably not be regarded as of so deadly a character as that of the pestilential Niger, it is curious to note that our experience of the former corresponded in one respect with that recorded of the latter, viz., that " the fever usually sets in 16 days after exposure to the malaria, and that one attack, instead of acclimatising the patient, seems to render him all the more liable to a second."

That a decided improvement had taken place in the sanitary condition of the settlement during the last few years there can be no doubt, and that it could have been further improved and the site itself rendered fairly healthy by completing the reclamations of the swamps, *jhîls*, and foreshore, and removing all exposed coral reefs within a reasonable radius of the station, seems equally certain ; but in order to accomplish such a task, more labour than was available at Camorta would have had to be freely bestowed for two or more years, during which time a high percentage of sick would have had to be counted on.

WORKS.—The principal works on which the convicts were employed from first to last were as follows :—

(*a*) The construction of buildings, tanks, and wells (as per margin), metalled roads, drains (brick, surface and sub-surface), sea-walls, and a jetty (500 feet long).

5 barracks } with out-houses
4 bungalows }
7 smaller quarters and out-houses
1 Commissariat godown
1 Magazine
12 brick wells
1 ,, tank
2 tanks
Numerous cattle and work-sheds, etc.

The two last-named works proved very beneficial in reclaiming a large portion of the unhealthy area occupied by the foreshore, whereby, among other advantages, a site for numerous huts required for the accommodation of free cocoanut-traders was provided.

As regards material, in the absence of stone suitable for building purpose *in situ*, much use was made of the fine blocks of coral which were so easily obtainable.

It was found easy to shape these by means of old blunt axes in slabs and blocks of suitable size. That they served our purpose very satisfactorily was evident from the substantial character of the work in the reservoir, wells, sea-walling and jetty. As the insanitary effects of exposed live coral are well known, the quarrying of

the adjacent reefs and the utilization of the coral in the above manner thus served a double purpose. The same material further enabled us to obtain, by burning, as much good lime as we needed. For thatching purposes the lalang grass was found admirably adapted; it is of this material that the excellent roofs of the Nicobarese huts in the Northern Islands are invariably made. Scantling, planking, etc., was obtained from the local sawpit station in Octavia Bay, while posts, bamboos, and cane were of course always readily procurable from the adjacent jungles.

(*b*) The removal of jungle, the extirpation of lalang grass and planting of good grass-seed together with a large number of trees (neem, mango, casuarina, shisham, mahogany, etc.), calculated to benefit the place both in a sanitary sense and otherwise; the cultivation of vegetables and fruits and experimental planting of cotton, tobacco, coffee, etc., and the reclamation or draining of such areas of swamp land as were either in proximity to dwellings or were so situated as to exert a baneful influence on the health of the station.

With regard to these, the work of supplanting the lalang grass with superior imported species proved very difficult, and can in fact be said to have been only partially accomplished; this is due to the extraordinary vitality of this grass, its tenacity, and the depth to which its roots penetrate the soil. It is more than probable that in the absence of any further restraints to its growth and spread, it will before many years re-assert its supremacy over the whole area. With reference to reclamations of swamps, the important work of bunding the large wide-mouthed swamp, referred to above as on the north-east border of the station, was attempted with all available labour for two and a quarter years (January 1874 to March 1876). Great hopes were, with good reason, entertained that a decided improvement in the sanitary condition of the settlement would ensue on the successful completion of this work, but before it was half finished, it was ordered to be discontinued and the bunded portion to be cut through so as to re-admit the sea as before; the grounds for this decision being that (1) the position of the sluice-gate fixed by the Public Works Department was faulty; (2) labour was scarce and more could not be afforded from Port Blair; (3) much sickness was occurring among the men engaged on the work; and (4) the reclamation might prove of questionable utility. From experience previously gained at Port Blair it was known that while such work was in progress the rate of sickness was certain to be high, and had the work been persevered in and the reclaimed area well drained and planted with cocoanut-trees, there can be no doubt that results similar to those witnessed at Aberdeen, Phœnix Bay and other swamps at Port Blair, formerly notoriously unhealthy, would have been attained.

(*c*) The formation of a cattle farm with the object of supplementing the outturn of draught and slaughter animals from the herds at the Andamans for the requirements of Port Blair, thereby eventually rendering that settlement independent of supplies of cattle from India.

Transfer of young animals for the above purpose commenced in October 1885, from which date 227 head were supplied to Port Blair (as per margin), while the entire herd at the time ot the abandonment of the settlement comprised:

1885-86 ..	67
1886-87 ..	120
1887-88 ..	42

Bulls	11
Cows	313
Bull-calves	324
Cow-calves	292
Bullocks	24

Buffalo-bulls	2
,, cows	28
,, calves (bull)	24
,, ,, (cow)	15
TOTAL ..	1,033

the above being exclusive of 210 head of cattle owned by self-supporter convicts.

(*d*) The manufacture or sale of the following for consumption at Port Blair or for local use :—

	Rs.
Cocoanut oil (about 720,000 lbs.)	1,20,000
Curds, milk and butter	28,500
Lime	20,000
Bricks	2,500

also procuring and preparing such quantities of jungle material, coral blocks, etc., as were required for local works.

(*e*) Girdling a few thousand timber trees (chiefly ***Mimusops***, ***Albizzia***, ***Mangifera*** and *Hydrocarpus* species), and maintaining a sawpit station for the supply of planking, scantling, etc., for works in progress and for sale.

WATER-SUPPLY.—From the number of wells and tanks mentioned in the foregoing as provided for the wants of the station, it will be rightly assumed that the supply of water was abundant during the rains and adequate during the dry months. As its quality was not above suspicion, the precaution was taken to boil and filter all that was intended for drinking purposes. The large quantity of water stored in the reservoir and wells near the jetty would have proved for many years to come a great convenience to vessels requiring a supply while trading there or in passing through the harbour. The average annual rainfall, as ascertained from the registers of fifteen consecutive years (1873 to 1887), was found to amount to 112·23 inches.

CHARACTER OF THE SOIL AND CULTIVATION.—The result of the experience gained by us as regards the capabilities of the soil for purposes of cultivation may be briefly stated to be as follows :—That only in such portions of the undulating grass heaths as lie in deep valleys and ravines could cultivation be carried on for more than one or at most two seasons without free application of manure, while on the high grass lands, there being only a thin layer of black mould covering the polycistina clay, any attempt to remove the grass in order to prepare the soil for cultivation suffices to diminish the small amount of fertility in land so unfavourably situated by exposing the topmost layer to the effects of the heavy rains of these latitudes, which of course speedily cause it to be washed down the nearest slopes. As regards the jungle land, our experience corresponded with that gained respecting similar land at Port Blair, and there can be no doubt of the success which would reward intelligent agriculturists to whom a tract of such land was allotted. Besides of course raising ordinary Indian vegetables and fruits for local consumption, experiments were made in cultivating American cotton and tobacco. Between 1870 and 1873 about 20 acres were planted with the former ; although there was at first a rich promise of success, the staple produced being most favourably reported on, both as regards quality and quantity, various circumstances combined to disappoint the hopes that had been raised. The drought of the dry months proved as injurious as the heavy rains and violent squalls of the South-West Monsoon, while additional loss was occasioned by the ravages of a red beetle, which was apparently introduced with the seed received from America. In consequence of this, though the soil seemed peculiarly favourable for the cultivation of this valuable plant, the experiment had to be reluctantly abandoned. The tobacco experiments were conducted on a smaller scale and over a like brief period. They sufficed to show that tobacco of good quality could be raised, although, in consequence of indifferent curing, the value of what was produced was small.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA

A QUERY.

ST. THOMAS IN PARTHIA OR INDIA ?

In the issue of *The Indian Antiquary* for June 1931, Dr. P. J. Thomas, of Madras, has (in his article on St. Thomas in South India) attempted to establish on the strength of the still nebulous and very late South Indian tradition that the Apostle Thomas did come to South India and went nowhere else.

Far earlier than the earliest recorded version (thirteenth century) of the South Indian tradition, there are statements in Origen and *The Acts of Judas Thomas* (both of about 200 A.D.), which show that St. Thomas went to Parthia *or* India. These two are in fact the earliest documents yet discovered which mention the field of St. Thomas's apostolic activities. India of *The Acts* is no doubt the Indus region under Gondophares of Taxila, i.e., North-West India, whatever the existing very late versions of the South Indian tradition may or may not say.

Now, while *The Acts*, written some time between A.D. 180 and 230, says that St. Thomas went to the India of Gûdnaphar (Gondophares), Origen, the much-travelled, voluminous writer of the same age (born A.D. 185-6, died about 254), says in his commentary on *Genesis* that the Apostle went to Parthia. He says (according to his statement incorporated by Eusebius, A.D. 265-340, in his *Hist. Eccl., lib.* III, c. I.) as follows :—

> *Apostoli et discipuli Domini ac Servatoris nostri per universum orbem dispersi Evangelium praedicabant. Et Thomas quidem, ut a majoribus traditum accepimus, Parthiam sortitus est.*

Does Origen here contradict his contemporary, the author of *The Acts* ? Or, does he actually agree with him, meaning by Parthia the Indus region under the *Parthian* king Gondophares ?

In olden times India was known to the Indians as Bhâratavarṣa and Indians were called Bhâratîyas. Could Parthia in the above passage be Origen's way of pronouncing the Sanskrit name Bhârata or Bhâratîya ?

Dr. Thomas, by a serious oversight, does not at all refer to Origen's Parthia. And Origen is not the only authority who mentions the Parthian apostolate of St. Thomas. *The Clementine Recognitions* (IX, 29), and later, Eusebius (*History*, III, 1), Rufinus (fourth century, *History*, II, 5), and Socrates (fifth century, *History*, I, 19) assign Parthia to St. Thomas, although *The Doctrine of Addai* (of about A.D. 200, a work completely independent of *The Acts* of about the same age), *The Doctrine of the Apostles* (of the third century), St. Ephraem, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome (all of the fourth century), and several later writers assign India to him, not Parthia.

In the Syriac life of St. Mares, Bishop of Ctesiphon (second century), there occurs the following passage:—

"When Mar Mares reached the country of the Huzites, and found believers there, and heard of the conversion of the Persians, his heart was filled with joy to find a small quantity of wheat in extensive fields of tares. He preached through that country and converted many. Then he descended still further (or went still further) until the perfume (or odour) of Mar Thomas, the Apostle, was wafted unto him ; and there also he added great numbers to the fold, and left behind him a disciple named Job, to minister to them." —(Medlycott's *India and the Apostle Thomas*, London, 1905, p. 37.)

From where did the perfume of St. Thomas go to St. Mares in the second century A.D. ? From Origen's Parthia, or from North-West India of *The Acts*, or from distant Malabar and Mylapore of South Indian tradition ?

Trivandrum, 29th June 1931. T. K. Joseph.

AIRIKIṆA AND SAÑCHÎ.

Airikiṇa.—This is the form found in the Gupta inscriptions at the site. The modern form is *Eran*, as current in the locality, which is now most conveniently accessible, being at a distance of four miles, from the railway station Kaithorâ-Korwâî in the small Muhammadan principality of Korwâî in Mâlwâ. The railway station is about five miles from Bina Junction, G. I. P., in the district of Saugor, C.P. On the map of Saugor and Bhilsâ, within a radius of twenty miles there are two other villages bearing the name of Eran. The *Airikiṇa* of Samudra Gupta is the name of a district (*pradeśa*)[1] wherein he made his (*sva-*)*bhoga-pura*, an imperial resort. This *sva-bhoga-pura* is the site now known as *Eran*, four miles from Kaithorâ. It is the gate between Mâlwâ (*Âkara*) and Bundelkhaṇḍ (Vindhya country). This and the other two villages called Eran are to be treated as coming under Vidiśâ, or Bhilsâ, in the Gupta and the previous periods.

The three spots bearing the name in a group prove that there was a territory connected with that name. The territory belonged in the second century B.C. (or earlier) to an autonomous political community. This is proved by the coins found by Cunningham (*A.S.I.*, vol. X, pp. 80-81, pl. XXIV, figs. 16, 17 ; vol. XIV, 149, pl. XXI, figs. 17, 18). On the coins the form of the name is *Erakaṇa*. [I take the letter read by Cunningham as *nya* to be an archaic form of *ṇa*.] The origin of the name is indicated, in my opinion, by the symbol of a serpent figured on the top of the coin. *Eraka* or *Airaka* means a serpent. It is the name of a Nâga in the *Mahâbhârata* (1. 2154). It is derived from *îr*, 'to move forward,' and the sense is to be found in *Airâvat* (the Serpent King) and names of rivers. *Airaka*, as a proper name, occurs in the Nâsik inscription of Puḷumâvi (*E.I.*, VIII, p. 65) as *Mahâ-Airaka*, which M. Senart considered to be the name of a Buddhist monk (*E.I.*, VIII, p. 68). The context does show that Mahâ-Airaka was either an official or a responsible

[1] Fleet, G. I., p. 20, Eran insc. of Samudra Gupta line 25.

monk. The political community under whom the Eran coins were struck derived their name from *Airaka*, who was evidently the founder of their state. I have shown elsewhere the existence of this system of naming the community after the founder of the state.[2]

The Nâga dynasty of Mâlwâ, who are found in Gupta times in the neighbourhood of Eran, might or might not have been connected with the Airikiṇas.

Sâñchî.—Cunningham's identification of Sâñchî with Fa Hien's *Sha-chi* has been rightly questioned by Sir John Marshall.[3] But the word remains unexplained. In the United Provinces it is contrasted with *Magah* (Magadha), in connexion with *pân* leaves (betel). The *Magahî pân*, which is imported from Gayâ, is white, while the uncured green variety is called *Sâñchî*, which means that it came from *Mâlwâ*. The name must be old, as its connotation is now forgotten.

The word is connected with the Sanskrit root *saṁ-chi* ('to collect,' 'to collect and deposit bones' of a dead body after cremation, e.g., in *saṁchaya-naṁ*.[4] The hill of Sâñchî has its chief feature in the *stûpas* in which were deposited the bones of the Buddha, his two chief disciples, and the chief missionaries of Buddhism under Aśoka. It is thus a secondary name, like the *Chetiya-giri*, not the original name of the hill, but a popular one arising from the *stûpas*. Its Sanskrit form would be *saṁchiti*: from *Saṁchiti*, we have *Sâñchî*. The real name of the place was, as we know from inscriptions, Kâkanâda.

K. P. JAYASWAL.

BOOK-NOTICES.

CEYLON JOURNAL OF SCIENCE. Section G, vol. II, Pt. 2, ARCHÆOLOGICAL SUMMARY, by A. M. Hocart, Archæological Commissioner. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ in.; pp. 73-97, with 41 plates.

In this volume Mr. Hocart, the late Archæological Commissioner, continues his notes on matters of archæolcgical interest, under the same headings as before, bringing them up to the end of 1928. Further evidence has led him to revise the scheme of culture periods proposed in the previous *Summary*. He is inclined to connect with the Mahayanist activity (strongest in what he terms the classical period) the trident capitals of the small temple to the SE. of the Thûpârâma, and the square temple prevalent at the present day in Ceylon. The traditional connexion of the *Nâgas* with water is illustrated by their association with dams, sluices and artificial ponds, such as those at Mihintale and Vannamaḍuva (see Plates LXVI, LXVII). It is interesting to compare his description, illustrated by plates, of pottery making in Ceylon with the method followed in India, where the wheel appears to have been more consistently used.

Mr. Hocart comments on the paucity in Ceylon of specimens of Gupta age art, which showed such remarkable activity in India. The Gupta empire, however, was chiefly confined to northern India, and the kingdoms in the south of the peninsula probably proved an effective barrier to its influences spreading into the island.

C. E. A. W. O.

BEITRÄGE ZUR INDISCHEN SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT UND GESCHICHTE. HEFT 6. BHÂRATAVARṢA: textgeschichtliche Darstellung zweier geographischen Purâṇa-texte nebst übersetzung. By W. Kirfel. Pp. vi+71. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart. 1931. RM. 10.00.

It is a matter for congratulation that Dr. Kirfel is pursuing his studies in the textual composition of the Purâṇas; for he has already shown that despite the unsoundness of most of the editions, valuable results can be obtained by his methods. In the present pamphlet he takes a geographical description of India which recurs in nearly all the Purâṇas and shows that it exists in two recensions, a shorter and a longer, each of which again has two recensions. He has succeeded in establishing a fairly sound text of the two recensions and is able to throw some light on the methods according to which independent treatises were incorporated in the Purâṇas. The work has been done with skill and scholarly precision, and forms a model that should be followed closely in future enquiries of the same kind.

The two texts have however a wider interest than that of the textual history of the Purâṇas. It has been hitherto impossible to make much use of the geographical statements in these works, because of the difficulty of deciding which form of name had the best authority and which names were later interpolations. But it seems to me that we are justified in holding that these texts as reconstituted give us a fairly accurate description of the distribution of Indian races at definite points still to be determined within the first six centuries or so of our era. Dr. Kirfel does not profess to have dealt thoroughly with this aspect, and in fact he has not made use of important recent work, such as Prof. Przyluski's illuminating essays on the peoples of the Panjâb or of other easily available sources of information. Perhaps in consequence, many of the identifications he puts forward in his notes are so at variance with the statements of his texts as to demand immediate rejection. Though the present reviewer cannot claim to be competent to solve many of the difficulties, a reference to the eighteen notes on p. 32 will make the point clear. Thus notes

2 *Hindu Polity*, i, 152.

3 *Guide to Sâñchî*, p. 135.

4 Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*

27 and 29 : the mention of the Śakas as living near the Lâṭas and Ânartas can only be a reference to the domains of the Western Satraps, and the Kâmbojas are known to have been connected with them. Note 31 : the Strîrâjya cannot be that in Gaṛhwâl and Kumâon, but is the same as the island mentioned by Hiuen Tsang southwest of Fo-Lin. Note 34 : the Mathurâ mentioned in connexion with Sind cannot be the town on the Jumna and is possibly a corrupt reading (variant reading Paṭuma).

I have also a bone to pick with him on the subject of the Huns. He uses the mention of them in one form of the earlier recension to show that it cannot be earlier than the fifth century (p. 7, but see p. 29, n. 51, for a different view), and declines to admit the variants mentioning Hûṇas and Hârahûṇakas in the second recension. But the Huns are mentioned once in the *Râmâyaṇa* and four times in the *Mahâbhârata*, including once with the Hârahûṇas (is *hâra* a Sanskritisation of some form of Turki *qârâ*, black ?) who appear in two other passages also. The Hun writing is known to the *Lalitavistara* and the *Mahâvastu*. These references are all earlier, probably a good deal earlier, than 500 A.D., and I would infer that the Huns had dawned on the political consciousness of India several centuries before, and that probably tribes known to the Indians by that name had settled in the Indian borderlands, perhaps before the Gupta period. After all one of the thirty-six Râjpût tribes used the name. May we express the hope that, when Dr. Kirfel fulfils his promise of dealing with other geographical texts, he will not allow preoccupation with textual criticism to interfere with the solution of the geographical problems involved ?

E. H. Johnston.

Indices and Appendices to the Nirukta. With an Introduction, by Lakshman Sarup. viii+76+394 pp. Published by the University of the Panjab : Lahore, 1929.

This most valuable volume forms a worthy conclusion to the great work of Professor Sarup on the *Nirukta*, of which have previously appeared the general introduction, the translation, and the critical text. Only with the help of extensive indexes can the work of Yâska be made full use of ; and Professor Sarup has laid his fellow-scholars under a deep obligation by putting together the numerous indexes and lists of quotations which form the bulk of this weighty volume.

The introduction mainly deals with the dates of several authors whose works are more or less closely connected with the *Nirukta*, as, e.g., Devarâja, Kṣîrasvâmin (who, according to Dr. Sarup, is not identical with a certain Kṣîra mentioned by Kalhaṇa *Râjatar.*, iv, 489, as flourishing during the eighth century A.D.), Skandasvâmin, Mâdhava, son of Veṅkaṭa, and others. It also contains rather extensive quotations from Mâdhava's commentary on the Rigveda. The main part of the book, however, consists of indexes to the *Nighaṇṭu* and *Nirukta*, a list of the etymologies of the *Nirukta*, and separate lists of quotations from the *Nirukta* by the commentators Sâyaṇa, Devarâja, Mâdhava, Udgîtha, Uvaṭa, Medhâtithi and Govindasvâmin. Then follows a list of quotations occurring in the *Nirukta* itself, and finally a short list of untraced quotations found in that same text. It would be an almost unsurmountable task to anyone to control all these quotations, and besides a very superfluous one. As far as the present writer has been able to ascertain by now and then using the various indexes they are most reliable and carefully composed. Professor Sarup is certainly entitled to the thanks of all Sanskrit scholars for his painstaking and useful *magnum opus*.

In his introduction (p. 3 f.) the learned author mildly criticizes the work of the late Dr. Sköld called *The Nirukta, its place in Old Indian Literature, its Etymologies* (1926). The present writer has, for certain reasons, had to occupy himself most carefully, with that book, and he can conscientiously testify to its utter valuelessness from every point of view. Detailed criticism is, however, out of the place, its author having met with premature death ; and it is seriously to be hoped that the piety of fellow-scholars will let this work fall silently into oblivion.

Jarl Charpentier.

Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar, Nos. 13, 14, 15. Government Central Press, Bombay ; 1931.

Following closely on the first twelve, we now have three more pamphlets from Mr. Govind Sardesai, who, in accordance with the scheme prepared by Sir Jadunâth Sarkar, is in charge of the publication of portions of the Peshwa's Daftar.

These papers deal with Bâjirâo's entry into Mâlwa and Bundelkhand, in opposition to the Delhi Emperor, the conquests that ensued in northern India, and his advance on Delhi itself, roughly covering the period between 1724 and 1739. A reference to the most recent edition of Grant Duff's *History of the Marâthâs* (Edwardes, 1921), will enable the student to follow the main lines of the campaigns of which these papers fill in many interesting details. We are able in these papers to follow the various events connected with Bâjirâo's attack on the Nizâm in the south, followed by his

incursion, with Chimnajî Appa, into Bundelkhand, the capture of Jaitpur, and the victorious advance to the Chambal and Jumna rivers. The campaign carries the Marâṭhâs to the vicinity of Delhi, when their movements were checked by the sudden appearance of Nâdir Shâh and his troops from the north. A valuable communication from the Peshwa to Bâpujî Shrîpat, dated 6th April 1739, describes briefly the defeat of the Mughal troops by Nâdir Shâh and his treatment of the Emperor on his arrival in Delhi. Unfortunately a portion of this precious document is missing. The vernacular text and short summaries in English are of great interest.

R. E. E.

Travancore Archæological Department, Administration Report, 1105 M.E. (=1929-30 a.d.) By R. Vasadeva Poduval, pp. 30. Plates I—IX. Government Press, Trevandrum.

This Report embodies some informing notes on the architecture, sculpture, wood-carving and inscriptions of Kerala. Brief accounts of the institutions known as *sankêtam*, a sort of ecclesiastical *imperium in imperio*, and *channâtam*, a system of military police, are of special interest. A short article on Leepuram (or Śîpuram) near C. Comorin, and another on Vaṭṭakôṭṭa Fort and the South Travancore Lines appear as appendices. Several lines of investigation are suggested by Mr. Poduval which might usefully be followed up. The report is handy in size and the plates are creditably printed.

F. J. R.

Bulletin De L'École Française D'Extrême Orient, Tome XXIX (1929). 10½×7 in.; pp. 603; 61 plates, besides illustrations in the text. Hanoi, 1930.

This handsomely illustrated volume of the *Bulletin* is replete, as usual, with matter of interest to students of Far Eastern culture. It starts with an article, accompanied by excellent plates, by M. V. Goloubew on 'The Bronze Age in Tonkin and North Annam,' in which are described some of the most important treasures in bronze of the Hanoi museum, including drums, vases, swords, daggers, axes, and other objects. Among the most interesting exhibits are certain drums, especially the Ngoc-Lu large bronze drum, to which special attention is directed, and the study of which, at his skilful hands, has enabled M. Goloubew to suggest conclusions of much historical and ethnographical interest. A detailed comparison is made between this drum and the pictorial ornamentation thereon with two other metallic drums found in Laos and Java respectively. The workmanship and decoration of these specimens afford evidence, in his opinion, of a primitive civilization of which trace may still be found among the Dayaks of Borneo. Numerous bronze objects, and some of iron and stone, recovered by M. Pajot during his excavations of ancient graves at Dong-son have also been figured and described with suggestive interpretations of the evidence they furnish. These artifacts appear to have been of indigenous make, though the use of metal seems clearly to have been borrowed from the Chinese. Certain objects excavated at this site would indicate that the Dong-son necropolis can be assigned to the period of the two Han dynasties (206 b.c. to 220 a.d.), while the recovery of several coins dating from the reign of the usurper Wang Man (9-22 a.d.) fixes the date more closely; and M. Goloubew seems justified in assigning it to about the middle or second half of the first century a.d.

Among other articles may be mentioned two by Mlle. M. Colani, in which this enthusiastic investigator furnishes a preliminary note on stone and bone implements, as well as a description of primitive carvings on stone and bone, discovered by her at prehistoric sites in southern Tonkin.

M. E. Gaspardone publishes the first of what promise to prove valuable articles on 'Materials for the History of Annam,' commencing with a well annotated review of a monograph on the country entitled *Yue Kiao chou* compiled by Li Wen-fong in the sixteenth century.

M. G. Coedès, continuing his 'Cambodian Studies,' discusses the date of the central sanctuaries at Bantāy Srĕi, which, for reasons that appear fairly conclusive, he would assign to the tenth century; and he furnishes important fresh data, both chronological and genealogical, for the dynasty of Mahîdharapura. There is also an interesting note by M. Paul Mus on the different types of balister, or cross-bow, depicted on the sculptures at the Bayon and at Bantāy Čhmàr. He adduces arguments tending to the conclusion that the use of these big weapons was introduced from China.

In the Miscellaneous section, M. L. Finot gives a transcription, with translation, of an incomplete inscription in Sanskrit of the tenth-eleventh century found in 1929 about 500 metres south of the Phimānàkàs, the import of which appears to have been that an image of Viṣṇu had been set up on the Yaśodharaparvata (Yaśodharagiri). This find seems to support M. P. Stern's identification of the Yaśodharagiri with the Phimānàkàs.

The volume closes with obituary notices of two distinguished scholars, the veteran M. E.-F. Aymonier, who had done so much to further our knowledge of the history and language of Cambodia, and M. L.-E. Aurousseau, a comparatively young man, who had already given high promise.

C. E. A. W. O.

SKETCH MAP
Showing the
COURSES of the PANJĀB RIVERS

Stat. Miles
0 50 100

HIMĀLAYA MTNS
SIWĀLIK HILLS

Jhelum
Jammū
Gujrāt
Siālkot
Chamba
Jhelum R.
Jech Doāb
Chenāb R
Gujrānwālā
Gurdāspur
Sind Sāgar Doāb
Rechna Doāb
LAHORE
Rāvi R.
Amritsar
Hoshiārpur
Sutlej R.
Indus R.
Beās R.
Jalandhar
Sultānpur
Simla
Kasūr
Bāri Doāb
Rūpar
Gugerā
Shorkot
Ludhiānā
Kālka
Dagshai
Jagrāon
Morni
Rāvi
Old Bank of Harappā Beās
Old Right Bank of
Sirhind
Nāhan
Mukhtsar
Ambālā
Multān
Patiālā
Dehrā
Pākpattan
Ghaggar R.
Tāngri R.
Mārkanda R.
Sarasvati R.
Bhatinda
Ghāra R.
Hardwār
Sahāranpur
Kaithal
Thānesvar
Bhatner (Hanumāngarh)
Old Bed of Beās
Ghaggar R.
Chautang R.
Wn. Jumna Canal
Karnāl
Jalālpur Pirwālā
Khairpur
Kahror
Sirsā
Sardārgarh (Walar)
Lodhran
Bahāwalpur
Bāropal
Pānipat
Uchh
Jīnd
Hissār
Meerut
Sardārgarh
Sūratgarh
Rāwatsar
Nohar
Bhādra
Mirgarh
Phūlra
Anūpgarh
Hānsi
Mārot
Rohtak
Derāwar
Dīngarh
Maujgarh
DELHI
Dry Bed of Hakrā or Wāhindah
Jumna R.
Ganges R.
Bikaner

32 30 28
70 72 74 76 78

C.E.A.W.O. del



THE RIVER COURSES OF THE PANJAB AND SIND.[1]

By R. B. WHITEHEAD, I.C.S. (*Retired.*)

This paper is based upon my personal experience in the Panjab Province, India, especially that of nearly six years passed in the Ambala District between 1914 and 1920. During and after this period I was in touch with Mr. H. W. Nicholson, C.I.E., of the Indian Irrigation Department, to whom I wish to express my obligations. Mr. Nicholson has had much to do with projects for the irrigation of a very extensive area of land extending down to the Sind border. These tracts have been contour surveyed, and the maps prepared from this information provide for the first time reliable hydraulic data.

The Ambala District consists of the submontane region bordering the Siwalik Hills from the River Jumna to the River Sutlej. South and west of it are the plains of Karnal District and Patiala State, followed by the sandy tracts of Hissâr, Hânsi and Sirsa, then the barren Bikaner desert. The Siwaliks in conformity with the general trend of the Himalayan system run in a north-westerly direction, while the rivers and torrents debouch from the hills at approximately right angles to this line; the tract from the Jumna to the Sutlej throughout its length of some eighty miles is scoured at frequent intervals by the wide and shifting sandy beds of *chos* or hill torrents. Only the Ghaggar River is a perennial stream. Its waters, if they did not lose themselves in the sands of Bikaner, would eventually reach the Arabian Sea, while the Jumna River flows by means of the Ganges into the Bay of Bengal, so the watershed of Northern India passes through the Ambala District. This tract and its continuation southwards to Delhi is the pivotal region of all India, of great topographical, historical and ethnographical significance.

A glance at the Government of India Survey Sheets will show that the Ambala (Ghaggar to Jumna) torrents are far more important as independent water-courses than those from the Ghaggar to the Sutlej. Most of the latter join the Sutlej or the Ghaggar quite early in their careers, and only the *chos* or sand torrents on either side of Kharar town flow on past Sirhind (now in the Patiala State) towards the desert. On the other hand the great divide is very close to the west bank of the Jumna, and throws the Ambala streams away from it to the south-west.

The Ghaggar River lies nearer to the Sutlej than the Jumna, and divides the District into two unequal parts which differ in race, customs, and agricultural efficiency. That to the west of the Ghaggar has affinities with the Panjab proper, while the remainder is more akin to Hindustan. The Outer Siwaliks in this region are low sandy hills, an Upper Tertiary formation of Pliocene age, composed of friable and partially consolidated material containing bands of clay and conglomerate. The Ambala Siwaliks, when they came under British administration, were thrown open to unrestrained wood-cutting and grazing, and the imprudent activities of the peasant proprietors have turned the range into a desert; great damage has been done by the *chos* to the fertile plains below. What in old days must have been streams in definite and narrow beds fed by a comparatively gentle and constant run-off, have degenerated into torrents which are raging floods in the rains and desolate wastes of sand for the rest of the year. Within living memory the bed of the Tângri *cho*, just east of Ambala Cantonment, had a deep bed. Efforts have been made in recent years to remedy this state of affairs. Thatching grass and coniferous trees have been planted in the sandy tracts, while regular measures for the re-afforestation of the Outer Siwaliks were started during the War. Behind these rises the Sub-Himalaya; between is usually a *dûn* or trough. The Jumna has its source in the high Himalayas. The Sutlej, like the Indus, is an antecedent river. It rises on the Tibetan plateau, and held its course through the Himalayan system while the latter slowly rose across its path.

[1] Read at the International Oriental Congress, Leiden, on the 10th September, 1931.

The plains of North-West India are alluvial, formed of silt brought down by the rivers from the mountains, and have a slope of about one foot in four miles. Similar physical conditions are found for example in the Dobrudja, and the valleys of the Po and Mississippi, but the region of the Yellow River in China provides a better parallel as being an analogous tract where light is thrown on past conditions by the records of an ancient civilisation. The alluvium of Northern India, the deposit of ages, is thousands of feet thick, and has never been sounded. It fills what must have been a sea bed, and the great divide emerged first. The slope on either side of the divide is quite gentle, about one foot to the mile : running along its top in a geological past was a silt laden river, the present Jumna, flowing from north to south, building up its bed, and spilling indifferently on one side or the other.[2] Just here on the Ambala side was Brahmâvarta, a settlement of the Vedic Aryans.

Brahmâvarta was centred on the Sarasvatî and Dṛishadvatî Rivers, usually identified with the modern Sarusti and Chautang respectively (*C.H.I.*, p. 80), now insignificant torrents between the Jumna and the Ghaggar.[3] It is natural that the Sarasvatî should occupy a position of great prominence in the Vedic period if the bulk of the hymns of the Rigveda were composed, not in the Panjab, but in the country round the Sarasvatî river, east and south of the modern Ambala (*C.H.I.*, p. 116). The Aryan invaders had already traversed the Panjab. What were the conditions which they found in Brahmâvarta which attracted them so much, and which did not exist in the Panjab ? The big eroding rivers of the Panjab had cut down below the general level ; between them were arid steppes (now called Bârs), and the only culturable land consisted of the narrow riverain strips.[4] Further on was a land of promise, a region of better rainfall, a flat wide tract of very fertile soil with free water at or near the surface, irrigated by a net-work of comparatively small and gentle rivers (Sarasvatî means the river of lakes) forming an inland delta, the waters of which never reach the sea. As the gradient flattens out, the silt-laden streams fill up their beds and spill over the surrounding plain. This water tends to re-collect and to run onwards in a new bed ; in this sense the Sarasvatî could actually have sunk into the ground and reappeared. Now the water soon disappears by percolation, absorption and evaporation ; this process has been much intensified by artificial interference for irrigation purposes.[5] The region is called the closed drainage area, and centres on Kaithal.[6] Further south-west Sirsa, the ancient Sarasti, on the old road from Delhi to Multan, was a celebrated stronghold of Hind ; to-day it stands on one of the biggest mounds in the Panjab. The Sirsa tract is contiguous with the Bikaner desert, and the Ghaggar is dry from October to July, but the fertility of the locality in mediæval times may be judged from the following incident. The place had been invested in 1035 A.D. by Sultan Mas'aud, son of Mahmûd of Ghazni. The country round was remarkable for the extensive growth of sugarcane, so the Sultan directed his forces to fill the moat with sugarcane and assault the place. This was done, and the fortress of Sarasti was stormed and captured.[7]

The waters are those of the Ghaggar and the Ambala streams east of it—the Markanda, Chautang, Sarusti, etc. As already explained, the contribution of the courses west of the Ghaggar, which may be called the Sirhind streams, is inconsiderable. Regarding the prominence of the Nature gods in the Vedic hymns, it may be remarked that the Ambala streams

[2] There is a tradition that a pilgrim lost his shoes and water-pot in the Sarasvatî at Pehoâ (an old town fourteen miles west of Thâneśar) and found them again in the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges at Prayâg. These places may be regarded in an extended sense as the limits of avulsion of a large silt-laden river swinging to and fro, and building up its delta.

[3] *C. H. I.* = *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I.

[4] There is no evidence of any effective change of climate in the plains.

[5] Cp. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, March, 1833, p. 107.

[6] It is full of traces of old towns, and approximates with the ancient Kurukshetra.

[7] Ibn Batuta mentions the city of Sirsutti as a large place abounding in rice.—*JASB.*, 1846, p. 219.

would be readily affected by storms which could make no difference to the great snow-fed rivers of the Panjab, and the forces of Nature must have been constantly manifest to the dweller in Brahmâvarta.

" At the present day it is difficult to trace their courses (the ancient rivers of Brahmâvarta), partly because the streams are apt to disappear in the sand, and partly because they have to a great extent been absorbed in the canal-systems constructed during the periods of Muhammadan and British rule " (*C.H.I.*, p. 80). But the British canals, the Western Jumna and Sirhind Canals, do not affect the streams of Brahmâvarta. In any case, their actual size depends on the extent of the catchment areas, whatever their vagaries in the plains may have been. When the lower hills were well covered with forest, the rainfall and run-off conditions were more favourable, but the actual catchment areas, the positions of the water-sheds, cannot differ much from what they were in times far anterior to those with which we are concerned. The Ghaggar is the only river which retains a definite bed down into Bikaner; the Markanda is the largest of the other streams. The reason is that both Ghaggar and Markanda have their sources in the higher hills; the remaining streams flow from the alluvial face of the Outer Siwaliks, and have insignificant catchment areas as the crest of the range is only a few miles back from the broken ground outside.[8] The Ghaggar drains the hills between Morni and Dagshai; the Markanda flows past Nâhan, the capital of Sirmor or Nâhan State, and leaves the Sub-Himalaya at Kâlâ Âmb. But even so, the length of the Markanda's course in the hills is probably not greater than twenty-five miles, while that of the Ghaggar is some fifty miles. These arguments appear to me conclusive. From prehistoric times there were two big rivers, the Jumna and the Sutlej; the watercourses between them can never have been large streams.[9]

The importance of the geographical factor in Indian history has been emphasized recently. For example, Dr. Vincent Smith has remarked that the investigator of ancient history needs to be continually on his guard against the insidious deceptions of the modern map. The rivers of the soft alluvial plains cut and carve their way as they please. Who can tell where the Indus flowed in the days of Alexander the Great ? " Since the early Muhammadan invasions the changes in the rivers have been enormous, and the contemporary histories of the foreign conquerors cannot be understood unless the reality and extent of those changes be borne constantly in mind. One huge river system, based on the extinct Hakra or Wâhindah river, which once flowed down from the mountains through Bahâwalpur, has wholly disappeared, the final stages having been deferred until the eighteenth century. Scores of mounds, silent witnesses to the existence of numberless and often nameless towns, bear testimony to the desolation wrought when the waters of life desert their channels. A large and fascinating volume might be devoted to the study and description of the freaks of Indian rivers."[10] Dr. Vincent Smith has done admirable service to his cause, and what he has said should certainly suffice to inspire caution in the interpretation of ancient texts and in attempts to identify places mentioned in those texts. Great changes have taken place in the rivers, and the positions of the confluences in both the Indus and Gangetic systems have undoubtedly shifted considerably since Alexander's invasion. But have the 'tremendous transformations' described on p. 25 occurred within the lapse of historic time ? Is it

[8] I understand that the Drishadvati has been identified with the Chautang. As the word means "river of stones," especially those used to grind grain (Macdonell and Keith's *Vedic Index*), then stones of this size were much more likely to be found in the Markanda or the Ghaggar than in the Chautang, which has neither boulders nor large stones.

[9] A recent contribution on the rivers of the Vedas is A. C. Woolner's "The Ṛgveda and the Panjab," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London, vol. VI, Part 2, 1931.

[10] *Oxford History of India*, 1923, pp. iii-v ; also pp. 25 and 26.

true and accurate to say that since the Arab invader made his appearance a huge river-system (that of the Hakra) has wholly disappeared, and that the river Sutlej has wandered over a bed eighty-five miles in width ?[11] These extreme statements invite examination.

Dr. Vincent Smith's views are based on those of Major H. G. Raverty, to whom he has paid a well deserved tribute. Major Raverty published his annotated translation of the *Ṭabaqât-i-Nâṣirî* in 1881, and intended to write a separate note on the investment of Uchh by the Mongols in 1245 A.D. An article had appeared in the *Calcutta Review* of 1874 entitled The Lost River of the Indian Desert. At this juncture another paper on the same subject was published in *JASB.*, 1886.[12] This stimulated the production of Raverty's "The Mihrân of Sind and its Tributaries: a Geographical and Historical Study," *JASB.*, 1892.[13] The work begins with the siege of Uchh, and continues as an elaborate historical geography of the mediæval Panjab and Sind. Much of the topographical information is taken from a work by an Indian unnamed, made previous to 1790 A.D., of which no particulars are given (*Mihrân*, p. 185). Major Raverty has endeavoured to reconstruct the old river courses of the Panjab and Sind by an analysis of the relevant material in mediæval histories, checked by extensive local knowledge, tradition and some Survey data. The argument is exceedingly diffuse and sometimes contradictory; the material is not well arranged.[14] The validity of the deductions depends primarily on the reliability of the historian concerned and of the available version of his history. Connected history began with the Muhammadan invasion. The Muslim chroniclers were seldom eye witnesses of the events they recorded, while names in the Arabic and Persian scripts are notoriously liable to distortion and change at the hands of copyists.[15]

The subject bristles with difficulties, but in the limited space at my disposal I will endeavour to be as concise as possible. According to Major Raverty vast changes have taken place in the courses of the rivers of the Panjab and Sind since the Arab conquest. These are some of his more important conclusions. As late as a Mongol invasion in 1245 A.D., both Multan and Uchh were in the Sind-Sâgar Doâb, west of the Chenâb (combined Râvi, Chenâb and Jhelum). The Hakra was still a large river at this time, and Raverty calls the Sutlej and even the Indus tributaries of the Hakra.[16] The Beâs had an independent course right down the present Bâri Doâb as far as Kahror.[17] Subsequently the rivers deserted their ancient beds, retreated to the north-west, and a vast tract of country became a waterless desert. The development was as follows.[18] (*a*) The Sutlej was a tributary of the Hakra. (*b*) Both Sutlej and Beâs left their ancient beds and met half-way, but again separated: (*c*) Finally towards the end of the eighteenth century the two rivers again united, formed a new river and a fresh bed, and commenced to flow as at present. Major Raverty asserts that the Sutlej has moved bodily 30 to 65 miles north-westwards, the Chenâb at different periods has flowed over a tract thirty miles broad, and the lower course of the Râvi has swung over twenty to twenty-five miles of country.

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[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

[12] See below.

[13] Mihrân is the name given by the Arab invaders to the Indus below its junction with the rivers of the Panjab.

[14] The work is a veritable mine of miscellaneous information; herein lies its chief value.

[15] Major Raverty knew this well enough—Mihrân of Sind, p. 185. See also Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 222.

[16] Mihrân of Sind, pp. 181, 316. But this is largely a matter of nomenclature.

[17] See Sheet No. 39, O, Punjab ¼ inch Survey Map, 1920. An old bed of the River Beâs, so-called, is shown along the line Kahror, Lodhrân, Jalâlpur Pîrwala, right in the angle of the Sutlej and the Chenâb, and extending within twelve miles of their present junction.

[18] *Op. cit.*, p. 178, footnote 66.

Major Raverty had been much impressed by the fact that no reference is made to the River Sutlej throughout the *Ṭabaqât-i-Nâṣirî* ; he says that it is not mentioned in any history of that period (*Mihrân*, p. 178). Only the Beâs is named in the direct routes from Delhi both to Multan and Lahore (pp. 159 f.). Hence Raverty concludes that the Sutlej was a tributary of the Hakra (p. 181), and talks of the Sutlej ' deserting its bed and moving up to join the Beâs.' It is difficult to reconcile this conception with the existence of the ancient town of Ajudhan, now Pâk Pattan, with its lofty mound on the high bank of the old Sutlej (combined Beâs and Sutlej), some miles north of the present course of the river. The Sutlej may be omitted from the *Ṭabaqât*, but so are the Chautang, the Ghaggar, the Chenâb, and the Hakra (p. 179). The ubiquity of the Beâs is quite embarrassing.

The deductions from the siege of Uchh are based on slender premises, and much dogmatical statement is merely hypothesis. The general trend of the argument about the Hakra, and especially the statement that it contained water till the eighteenth century (p. 415) are contradicted by a piece of evidence quoted by Raverty himself from Mîr Ma'ṣûm's *History of Sind* (p. 184). Mîrzâ Shâh Ḥusain, the Arghûn Mughal ruler of Sind, attacked the fort of Derâwar on the Hakra about the year 1525 A.D. He had to take a month's supply of grain and water along with him because Derâwar was ' situated in a desert tract so that even the birds of the air were afraid to glance at it.'

It is positively misleading to describe the Hakra as " a hugh river system which once flowed down from the mountains through Bahâwalpur and which has wholly disappeared."[19] In plain sober prose the Hakra is the local name given to a continuous dry depression which bounds the great Indian desert in Bahâwalpur ; it bends to the south after entering Sind, and is continued to the Arabian Sea at Lakhpat by a channel called the Eastern Nâra. The two hundred miles of this depression in the Bahâwalpur State are roughly parallel with the present course of the Ghâra (combined Sutlej and Beâs), and at a distance of twenty-five to fifty miles from it. On the banks of the Hakra are ancient sites and old fortified places, such as Walar (Sardârgarh), Phûlra, Mîrgarh, Mârot, Maujgarh, Dîngarh and Derâwar ; along the lower course of the Ghaggar also are the remains of towns hidden under old mounds. Mârot is on the ancient road from Delhi to Multan via Hânsi and Sirsa (Sarasti), but the tract is now a *marusthala*, an abode of death. Tradition asserts that these regions were not always arid and desolate, and that their deterioration dates from the drying up of the Hakra River which came from the Panjab. What was this Hakra River ? The Hakra depression was and still is the outlet of all the drainage channels between the Jumna and the Sutlej, and these are neither more nor less than the familiar Ambala and Sirhind streams already described. The combined waters of these small rivers now disappear in Bikaner State, yet the dry channel further on in Bahâwalpur is still two to four miles broad. One can only conclude that these waters were at one time largely augmented in this locality from some other source, and that source can only have been the Sutlej, or the Jumna, or both, reinforced towards Alor in Sind by water from the Indus. Excavation of the ancient sites along the Hakra will throw light on the period when this favourable distribution ceased to exist.[20]

Dr. C. F. Oldham in the *Calcutta Review*, 1874, held that the so called Hakra is the old bed of the Sutlej. In an article in 1875 a contributor advanced the view that the Hakra was fed by both the Sutlej and the Jumna. Colonel Minchin, who was for many years Political

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[19] See above.

[20] The earth's rotation has been mentioned as a possible contributory cause, but the rotational effect is only tendential, and is common to the entire hemisphere.

Agent in Bahâwalpur, considered that the Hakra was an old bed of the Jumna. It could not have been the Sutlej because that river flows in a defined channel of its own, bounded on either side by land decidedly higher in level. A canal was made in the fourteenth century by Fîroz Tughlaq Shâh from the Jumna to Hissâr, and these old canals were excavated along ancient channels, so it is possible that the Jumna once flowed this way. The problem was attacked again in 1886 by Mr. R. D. Oldham of the Geological Survey of India.[21] In his opinion the Hakra is an old bed of the Sutlej, though it may have been also fed from a branch of the Jumna ; it dried up when the Sutlej 'turned up to join the Beâs.' Lastly, Major H. G. Raverty in 1892 discussed the question from the historical point of view, and a summary of his conclusions has already been given. Not only the Sutlej, but the Indus itself was a tributary of the Hakra ; the Jumna is not mentioned.[22]

Since the year 1892 there has been a great expansion of irrigation in the Panjab. The vast Triple Project which made the flourishing Canal Colonies in the Central and West Panjab has been followed by works of almost equal magnitude. The Sutlej Valley Project came to fruition four years ago ; it will eventually irrigate large areas of desert in the Bikaner and Bahâwalpur States. For the purposes of this project the country down through Bikaner has been contour surveyed. The contour lines are not more than half a mile apart, and levels have been observed at points every five hundred feet along the lines. Mr. H. W. Nicholson has been intimately connected with this work for the past twenty-five years. He authorises me to say that by the year 1916 it became evident that an ancient bed of the Chautang a mile wide was an old course of the River Jumna. Without making any definite statement as to period, historical or geological, it is possible to say that the Jumna once spilled down what is now an old bed of the Chautang in Bikaner State, and that it was water from the Jumna, and not from the Sutlej, which made the lost river Hakra. This former channel of the Chautang follows the line Bhâdra, Nohar, Râwatsar, Bâropal and Sûratgarh, all in Bikaner State, and it joins the Ghaggar at Sûratgarh. I have looked up the four miles to the inch Survey Maps. The dry bed of the Ghaggar is depicted as being one to two miles wide from Hanumângarh (Bhatner), and it is joined a few miles east of Sûratgarh by a depression extending back to Bâropal. Nothing further is shown eastwards, but the importance of this depression is evident because the 'dry bed of the Ghaggar' suddenly doubles in width at this junction and becomes two to four miles broad ; it so remains past Anûpgarh (Bikaner State) into Bahâwalpur State at Walar (Sardârgarh). There is a local tradition that water last reached Anûpgarh in 1060 A.D. ; it now barely gets down to Bhatner, seventy miles further up. This gives a retrogression rate of eight miles a century.[23]

In the year 1249 the author of the *Ṭabaqât-i-Nâṣiri* went from Delhi to Multan by the direct route across the present desert tract. When the monsoon set in, and 'the rains of compassion' fell, he returned by way of Mârot, Sarasti (Sirsa) and Hânsi. This mention of the rainy season introduces another aspect of the matter. The great fluctuations in the rainfall are alone sufficient to explain much that is puzzling about these old desert routes. The difference between the matured area of Bikaner State in a poor year and a good year is in

[21] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1886, pp. 322-343.

[22] The Hakra is designated in the latest Survey maps 'dry bed of the Hakra or Ghaggar River.' Sir Alexander Cunningham calls the Hakra the old bed of the Ghaggar, also the Sotra or Chitrang (Chautang) River.

[23] The old bed of the Chautang is mentioned by Major Colvin on pp. 106, 107 of 'The Ancient Canals in the Delhi Territory,' *JASB.*, March, 1833. The Ghaggar "does not in the heaviest season pass in force beyond Bhatner," and "the period when this river (in the old bed of the Chautang) ceased to flow as one is far beyond record. and belongs to the fabulous periods of which even tradition is scanty."

the order of 5,000 to 500,000 acres. It would be possible even now to travel via Mârot in September after a good monsoon. A traveller or historian would derive very different impressions according to the season, and an explanation based upon a lost river or change in climate might be quite beside the point. In the Panjab the months of May and June are very dry and hot, but rain fell regularly at this period in the year 1917, and the crops sprouted on the threshing floors. This abnormal weather was followed by an exceptional monsoon. At Jagraon in Ludhiana in October 1917, water flowed out of the well heads and the land was too wet to plough; there was excellent recruiting for the Army that autumn. The rivers remained in flood for weeks after the normal time, and the ancient channels and spill-ways in the desert must have been full of water. The travels of a Chinese pilgrim through the Panjab in the Year of Grace 1917 might record an accurate picture of his impressions, but they would be quite misleading.

Another potent factor has been the hand of man. In former days the water of the Ambala streams reached the Sirsa region; their dry channels are still visible, while wells and Persian wheels are found embedded in the sand. A major cause of the change is the deflection of water higher up by dams and inundation canals which checked its course through the Karnal and Patiala levels. Settled conditions and increased population in recent times have greatly accelerated the spread of grazing and the rate of deforestation. The condition of the unprotected outer hills has much deteriorated in the last sixty years. Perennial streams have degenerated into sand torrents with a destructive rush of water in the rains, and nothing the rest of the year. There has probably been more change here in the last hundred years than in the preceding twenty centuries.

It is certain that the course of each of the rivers in the plains of the Panjab and Sind has changed within historical times, but this does not mean that the main beds have moved to the extent that has been suggested. Harappâ is on the old high bank of the Râvi and aerial reconnaissance along the bank has revealed a chain of sites possibly coeval with it. Harappâ has turned out to be immemorially older than was suspected when Raverty was riding over the Panjab Bârs in 1855, or when Cunningham wrote his *Ancient Geography of India* in 1871, and it would appear that the old high bank of the Râvi has remained much as it is today since pre-Vedic times. This great discovery puts the matter in its proper perspective.[24] The bed of a large river in an alluvial plain may be twenty and even thirty miles wide. The river is free to oscillate within these limits, but may not have transgressed them for thousands of years. I think this is true of the Râvi, the Chenâb, and the Jhelum.[25] The Beâs and Sutlej seem to have been more mobile. Major Raverty only had the levels of the Trigonometrical Survey; these were taken here and there, usually at elevated spots, for the purposes of triangulation. They do not give the general slope of the country, and are meaningless for hydraulic purposes. Exact hydraulic data are now to hand. Excavation will determine the real age of the buried towns along the old high banks. I am informed that a mound as far east as Rûpar, where the Sutlej leaves the Siwaliks, has been found to belong to the Indus Age. Much new information will be available when the large and fascinating volume envisaged by Dr. Vincent Smith comes to be written. The freaks of even Indian rivers are ultimately governed by levels.

[24] There is also Mohenjo-dâro, of course, in the riverain tract of the Indus.

[25] Cp. Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 223.

NOTE ON THE CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE WYNAD.

BY F. J. RICHARDS, M.A., I.C.S. (*Retired.*)

I. *Physical.*

THE Deccan Plateau on its S.W. margin thrusts two great bastions seaward into the plains of Malabar. The northern bastion comprises the highlands of Coorg, the southern bastion the Wynad Plateau.

This Plateau, which averages about 3,000 ft. above sea level, is hemmed in on the N.W. by the mountains of S. Coorg (rising to 5,277 ft. in Brahmagiri), and on the S.W. by the 7,000 ft. Plateau of the Nîlgiris. Its S.W. border is demarcated by a chain of three members,[1] which rise abruptly from the coastal plain between Tellicherry and Calicut. On the N.E. it merges into the basin of the Upper Cauvery, the homeland of Mysore.

The Wynad is not flat, though it looks flat when viewed from the Nîlgiris. It is divided into two portions by a hilly belt that runs N. and S., and sinks to a col in the neighbourhood of Sultan's Battery. West of this water-parting the Plateau is drained by the Kabbani, east of it by the Nugu and Moyâr, all tributaries of the Cauvery. (Fig. 1.)

The Western Wynad, which is somewhat larger in area and lower in general level than the Eastern Wynad, is divided into four quadrants by the headstreams of the Kabbani. The waters of the S.W. and S.E. quadrants, from Vayattiri and Mûppayi Nâd, unite at Panamaram, and are joined by those of the W., from Periya, about four miles below this confluence. In another four miles or so northward the Kabbani, which is here split up by numerous islands, receives the waters of the N.W. from Tirunelli. The N.E. quadrant (Pulpalli) drains northwards, joining the Kabbani below the Tirunelli confluence.

The water-parting between the S.E. and S.W. quadrants, culminating in the Mani-Kunnu massif, 4,509 ft., follows roughly the line of the Panamaram-Kalpatta road, that between the S.W. and N.W. quadrants the Panamaram-Korôt road. The former line, continued northward, along or a little west of, the Kabbani, divides the Western Wynad into a western and an eastern half; the latter line continued eastward defines the northern and southern halves of the Western Wynad.

These halves and quadrants differ from each other in their cultural affinities; so also do the Periya and Tirunelli sectors of the N.W. quadrant.

The rainfall at Manantoddy in the west averages about 106 inches annually, that at Gûdalûr in the east about 90 inches. Northwards towards the Mysore border the rainfall is scantier and beyond, in Heggadadêvankôte, it is only about 25 inches. But on the southern margin of the Wynad, which is more exposed to the S.W. Monsoon, it runs to over 160 inches (Vayattiri 169, Dêvâla 162), and an annual fall of 300 inches (25 feet) is not uncommon.

On the Malabar border the Wynad is girt with a belt of "moist ever-green" forest, "magnificent trees growing straight up to great heights, and so close together that little sunlight reaches the ground, which is littered thick with rotting vegetation, covered with creepers and undergrowth of many kinds, and swarms with leeches. Hence the fauna is mostly arboreal, and even in the tree-tops the density of foliage is such that grey is too conspicuous a colour for safety and the monkey (*Macacus silenus*) wears a coat of inky black, with whisps of white hair that simulate the lichens hanging from the branches."[2]

On the Mysore borders the vegetation is different, a broad zone of deciduous bamboo jungle. "The bamboo grows in clumps, with considerable open spaces between and with plenty of grass; the clumps themselves are impenetrable and are favourite lairs for tigers and panthers; but it is nevertheless possible to traverse these forests without being held up by tangled undergrowth, unless it be *Lantana*, a pest of very modern introduction." These bamboo jungles are saturated with malaria of a most malignant kind.

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[1] The highest points in these three members are (A) Banasuram, 6,757'; (B) Kurchipandi-Mala 5,271'; and (C) Vâvul Mala, the "Camel's Hump," 7,673'.

[2] For this account of the forests, I am indebted to Mr. Cammiade.

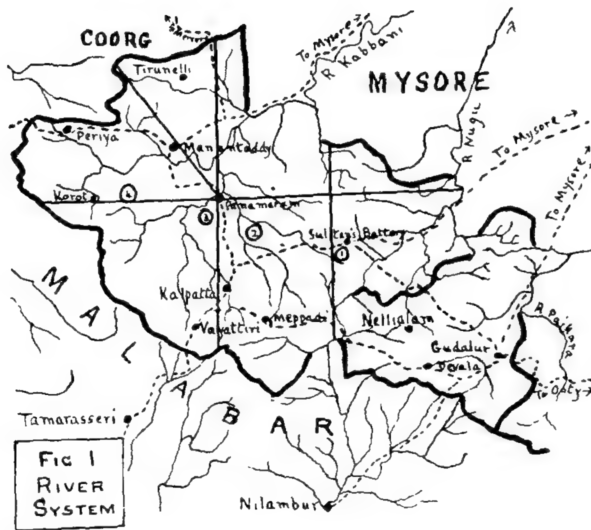


Fig 1
River System

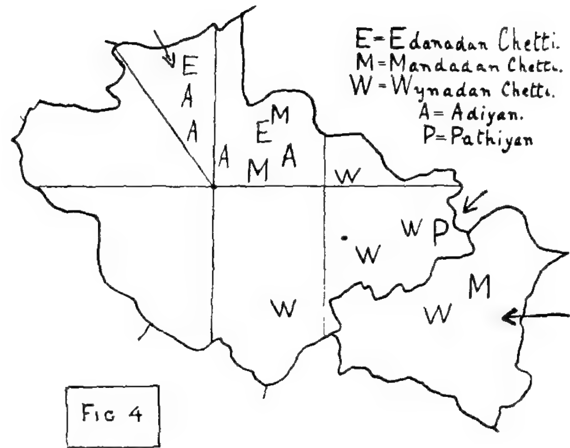


Fig 4

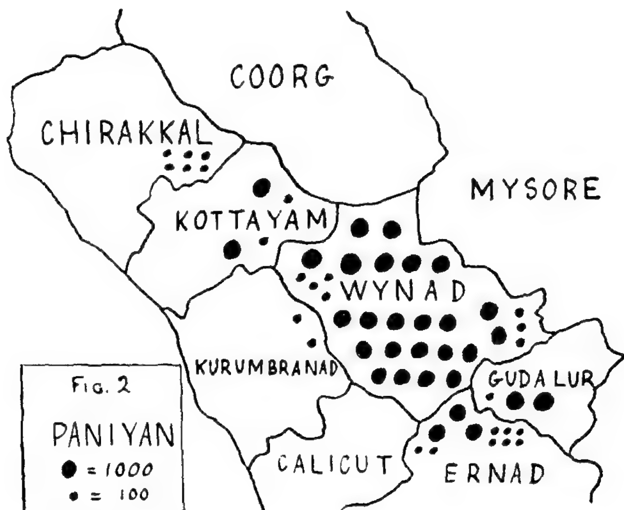


Fig. 2

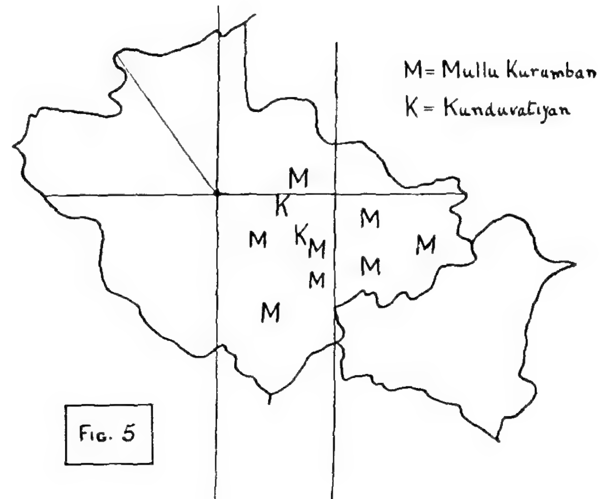


Fig. 5

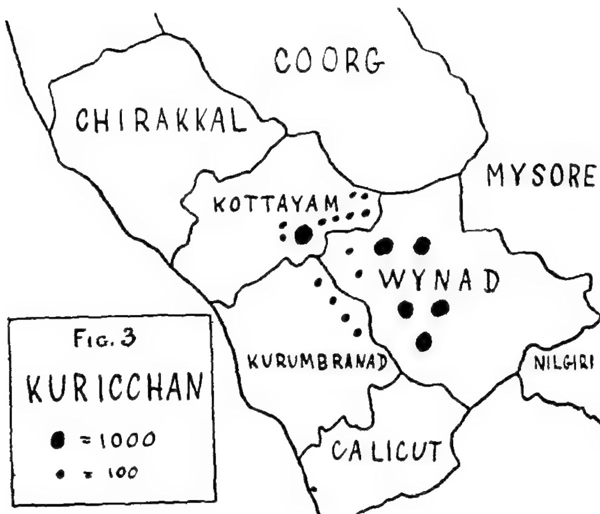


Fig. 3

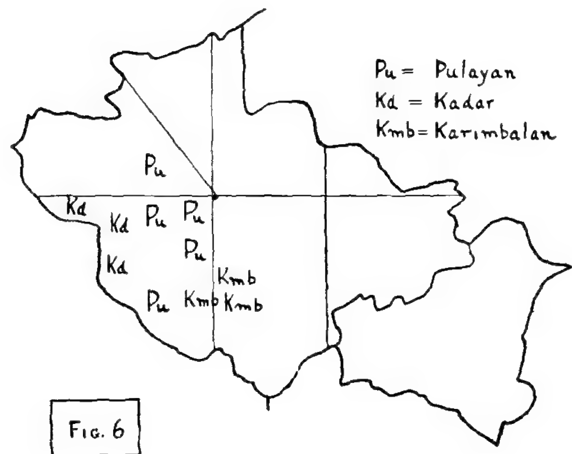


Fig. 6

The total area of the Wynad is about 1,100 sq.m., of which 821 sq.m. lie in the administrative district of Malabar, the remainder in that of the Nîlgiris (Gûdalûr Taluk). Even the standardizing influence of British rule has failed to merge the Wynad in the routine of normal district administration, or to obliterate the cleavage between the northern and southern halves. Till quite recently the Malabar Wynad remained a separate revenue division, with a divisional officer all to itself, and with a tahsildar at Manantoddy for the northern half, and a deputy tahsildar at Vayattiri for the southern half. The divisional officer has now been abolished, and the Wynad division is split in two, and tacked on to the adjoining coastal divisions ; hereafter the northern half is to be administered from distant Tellicherry, and the southern half from almost as distant Calicut.

The population of the Wynad in 1911 was a little over 100,000 ; a density of about 101 per sq.m. for the Malabar portion and 83 for Gûdalûr ; miserable figures, if contrasted with those of the plains (e.g., Calicut Taluk, 715 ; Coimbatore Taluk, 504) or the Mysore Basin (Mysore Taluk, 426), but very similar to those of contiguous areas in the Ghât Zone. (Kiggat Nâd in Coorg, 91 ; Ootacamund on the Nîlgiris, 92 ; Heggadadêvankôte in Mysore, 103.)

From Malabar the Western Wynad is accessible through gaps in the fringing range ; the northern half is now linked by a metalled road with N. Malabar, via the Periya Pass, the southern half with S. Malabar via the Tâmarassêri Pass. The Tâmarassêri route is an old thoroughfare, but the Periya Ghât, which was constructed by the British in the interests of their port of Tellicherry, has superseded not only the old Smugglers' Pass, which led via Manattana into the heart of the Kôttayam territory, but also the still important route from Korôt to Kuttiyâdi, whence access can be had by river to the older port of Badagara.

With Mysore the northern half of the Western Wynad is connected by a road which follows the N. bank of the Kabbani, the southern half by a road through Sultan's Battery and Gundlupet. Metalled roads also link the Western Wynad with Coorg, and the Eastern Wynad with S. Malabar (Karkkûr Ghât, via Nîlambûr) and the Nîlgiris (Gûdalûr and Sîgûr Ghâts).

II. *History.*

Of the early history of the Wynad little is known. Rice equates the name with " Bayal Nad," a term applied by the Hoysala hill-chiefs to the southern limits of their territory in the eleventh century, before they had, by the expulsion of the Tamil Chôḷas, made themselves masters of the Mysore basin. But the inscriptions[3] do not define " Bayal Nad " with precision ; Rice adduces no evidence to prove its identity with the Wynad, and elsewhere[4] he himself locates it in the adjoining taluk of Heggadadêvankôte. Moreover the term *bayal*, which connotes " open champaign country " is hardly applicable to the forest-stricken Wynad,[5] and the term " Wynad " is in local usage restricted to a very limited portion of the Plateau.[6]

A few inscriptions exist, mostly unread, or unreadable, or unintelligible or unimportant. But there is one gleam of light.

At Tirunelli is one of those ancient out-of-the-way pilgrim resorts with which India is dotted from the Himâlayas almost to Cape Comorin. In the Tirunelli temple are preserved

[3] *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 98.

[4] *Mysore*, 1897, II, 331-2.

[5] See Mr. Gopalan Nair's *Wynad, Its Peoples and Traditions*, pp. 7-8, where an alternative etymology (" forest tract ") is suggested.

[6] According to Mr. Nair (*op. cit.*, p. 20), the Wynad proper is restricted to the four *amsams* (" townships ") which cover approximately the N.E. quadrant of the Western Wynad. Mr. Cammiade writes " I know for a fact that the name Wynad was somewhere about the middle of the last century applied only to the central part of the area now known by that name. It was the most open, and, until coffee and tea came in, by far the most important part of the country." He points out, further, that the curious blunders committed in the Treaties of 1792 and 1799 referred to below would not have been made if the name Wynad had then the territorial significance now attached to it.

two copper-plate grants issued in the reign of Bhâskara Ravivarman,[7] a king who ruled the West Coast plains from N. Malabar to Central Travancore and whose date, though scholars rage furiously together on the subject, appears to be somewhere in or about the eleventh century. These plates provide for the management of the Tirunelli Temple, and it is clear that, in the days of King Bhâskara Ravivarman, the Western Wynad was, as it is now, politically part of Malabar.

Further one of the grants is issued by a chief of " East Purai Nâd," presumably a vassal of Bhâskara Ravivarman, and as the modern chieftaincy of Kôttayam in N. Malabar is known as Pura Nâd, the Wynad Plateau was presumably regarded in the eleventh century as the eastern part of the Kôttayam territory.

This reference to Kôttayam is of special interest, as it gives substance to the local traditions recorded by Mr. C. Gopalan Nair. According to his informants the Wynad was " once upon a time " ruled by two Vêdar[8] chiefs, of whom Ariappan held the northern half and Vedan the southern half, the boundary between the two being at Panamaram.

A chief of Kumbla,[9] in S. Kanara, when on a pilgrimage to Tirunelli, was kidnapped by these Vêdars. The captive chief got in touch with the chiefs of Kôttayam (" Cotiote ") and Kurumbranâd (also in N. Malabar) and begged their aid. These two chiefs, who were kinsmen, seized the Plateau and divided it between them, Kôttayam taking the Western Wynad and Kurumbranâd the Eastern Wynad. The boundary between them was fixed at Padri Rock, a short distance west of Sultan's Battery.

Under the Kôttayam régime the Western Wynad was divided into a number of shares or " shires." The biggest and most important area, comprising the N.E. quadrant (fig. 1), with some of the best land to the west of Panamaram, was portioned out among a dozen Malayâlî vassals, and assigned as an appanage to the Third Prince of the Kôttayam House ; the Tirunelli quadrant was allotted to the Second Prince with two vassals ; the valley of the Periya river, commanding the all-important routes to the Kôttayam home-land in N. Malabar being retained under the direct charge of the Senior Prince. Most of the S.W. quadrant (Vayattiri and Kalpatta) formed another fief, and two more fiefs were established in the area between it and the Periya Valley ; one of them (Kurumbala) being placed in charge of the Payyôrmala chiefs, who held a large principality in the adjoining plains. The southern portion of the S.E. quadrant, the Muppayi-Nâd, is not mentioned among the Kôttayam fiefs and was probably not under Kôttayam control.

Kôttayam rule endured, but in the Eastern Wynad, Parakkumital as it is called, the Kurumbranâd Râjas failed to make good, and in course of time the tract was absorbed by Kôttayam.

This tradition of Malayâlî occupation is attested on the Kanarese side by a Mysore inscription of 1117 A.D.,[10] which relates how an army of the newly founded Hoysala Empire overran the Nîlgiris and " frightened the Todas " and then, turning on the " Malayâlas," drove them down into Malabar ; a campaign which necessarily implies the occupation of the Wynad. It was probably at this period that the Badagas colonized the Nîlgiris and Gûdalûr Taluk.[11] There is no evidence that the Hoysalas retained their footing in Malabar or in the Wynad.

Towards the end of the twelfth century a religious reformation established Vîra-Saivism (commonly called Lingâyatism) all over the Kanarese country. About a century later came the Muhammadan invasions, followed by the rebuilding of the Hoysala heritage under the ægis of Vijayanagar. In this period certain chiefs of the S. Mysore marches

[7] See *Ind. Ant.*, 1891, 285, and *Trav. Archæol. Series*, 2, 31 *sq.*

[8] *Vêdan* is a general term for " hunter," and cannot be taken as signifying any specific race or tribe.

[9] See *S. Canara Manual*, 1895, vol. 2, p. 248.

[10] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 4, No. 83 of Chamarâjnagar.

[11] In 1921 there were 12,539 Badagas in Gûdalûr Taluk

adopted the title "Subduer of the Nîlgiris."[12] The last of these, the chiefs of Ummattûr, who were Vîra-Śaivas by faith, made a bid for independence during the revolutions which shook the Empire at the close of the fifteenth century. The great Krishna Dêva brought them to heel in 1510.

The Ummattûr tradition is still alive among the Baḍagas of the Nîlgiris. Nelliâlam, in the heart of the Nîlgiri Wynad, is the seat of a Kanarese Vîra-Śaiva, overlord of a wide extent of landed property, who is popularly entitled *Arasu* or "king."[13] He still exercises a general authority over the Baḍagas as a court of appeal in communal disputes. The legends of his family connect it with Ummattûr, and state that his ancestors, when ruling the Nilgiris, wrested Nelliâlam from a Nâyar chief.

Meanwhile in the N.W., beyond the Wynad border, a prince of the house of Keladi[14] established himself as ruler of Coorg.

Conflict ensued between this new Coorg State and the rulers of Mysore. Taking advantage of this, the Kôttayam Chief invaded Coorg and was annihilated. This disaster the Kôttayam princes never forgot or forgave.

In 1765 Haidar Ali, now master of Mysore, but bankrupt with his Marâṭhâ wars, decided to replenish his treasury by the conquest of Malabar. To secure his communications with Malabar he attacked Coorg. Malabar fell to him in 1766, but he was not yet strong enough to annex it all permanently. Meanwhile Coorg held out. Haidar then resorted to diplomacy, and Coorg was placated (1768). In 1773 Haidar descended on S. Malabar by a bold march through the Wynad and the Tâmarassêri Pass. This time he annexed all Malabar. In the following year the Coorg Râja, with Haidar's connivance, wrested the Wynad from his hereditary foe of Kôttayam and established a garrison at Kalpatta. In 1779, however, while Haidar was busy elsewhere, Kôttayam recovered possession, and in 1780 Haidar annexed Coorg.

War with the English followed. Haidar died in 1782 and the war ended with the Treaty of Mangalore (1784) by which Tipu Sultan retained all Malabar and the Wynad. But in 1792, by the Treaty of Seringapatam, Tipu was stripped of half his dominions. The British thought the Wynad was included in the territory ceded, but the terms of the Treaty were not explicit on the point. The consequences were awkward. Shortly after the Treaty was signed the "Pytchy Raja," as the English called the Prince of the Western Branch of the Kôttayam Dynasty, went into rebellion, and after three years of defiance retreated to the Wynad. The British followed and Tipu promptly protested that the Wynad was his. After two years' discussion the Governor-General decided that the Wynad belonged to Mysore. When in 1799 Mysore was restored to her rightful Râjas, the Wynad, as if to make amends for past omissions, was ceded to the Company under one name and to Mysore under another. and a supplementary treaty had to be signed in 1803 to make the Wynad British.

III. *Ethnology.*

Anthropologically the Wynad has never been intensively studied, but such evidence as is recorded is extremely interesting.[15]

"Until the introduction of tea and coffee planting the population of the Wynad was mostly confined to the swampy ground along the river valleys. They cleared the swamps, and grew paddy. They had no use for the forest land. The low hillocks standing out of the

12 Rice, Mysore Inscriptions, pp. 153-5.

13 *Nîlgiri Gazetteer*, p. 370 *sq.*

14 A dynasty of Kanarese Vîra-Śaivas who built up a state in Shimoga District in the N.W. of the present State of Mysore and made themselves masters of the Kanara coast from Honâwar to the frontiers of Malabar. They are also called Ikkêri or Bednûr Râjas, from the names of their later capitals. They fell to Haidar Ali in 1763.

15 Especially the little book, already cited, by Rao Bahadur C. Gopalan Nair, who has a keen sense of relevant fact. See also Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, and the *Malabar* and *Nîlgiri District Gazetteers*

swamps was all they needed for pasture, dry crops, fuel and habitation. Each river valley would then become characterized by some more or less homogeneous community."[16]

The curly-haired *Paniyar* represent presumably the oldest stratum. Their method of making fire by "sawing" links them with the jungle folk of Malaya.[17] They number about 24,000 in the Wynad alone,[18] some 28 per cent of the total population; and they are to be found all over the Wynad (fig. 2). They work for hire in the fields. Their speech is corrupt Malayâlam.

Field labour is also provided in the Western Wynad by *Pulayans* in the western half (fig. 6) and *Adiyans* in the Tirunelli Sector and the N.E. quadrant (fig. 4), the former apparently from Malabar (though they deny any affinity with the Malabar serf caste of that name), the latter from Coorg.[19]

The *Tên Kurumbars* and *Shola Nâyaks*[20] are more purely jungle folk, who speak Kanarese and whose affinities lie with Mysore.

In the Western Wynad the *Kâdars* of the west and *Karimbâlans* of the south[21] (fig. 6) claim a definite status in the social hierarchy of Malabar, and their kinsfolk are to be found beyond the Wynad limits, mostly in N. Malabar.

The *Mullu Kurumbars* in the eastern half and the *Kundavatayans* of the N.E. quadrant (fig. 5) claim yet higher status, while the *Kuricchans* or *Kuricchiyans* of the western half (fig. 3) rank highest of all the Wynad tribes.[22] These tribes cultivate their own lands, are keen hunters and stout fighters, as the British found to their cost, during the "Pychy" rebellions (1793-97 and 1800-05), and again in 1812.[23] The *Kuricchans* claim to be Nâyars of Travancore[24] whom the Kôttayam Râja brought with him when he conquered the Wynad, while the *Mullu Kurumbars* say they are kinsmen of the "Vêdar" chief who ruled before him.

The so-called "Chettis" of the Wynad seem to have quite a different origin. They too are landholders, and have no connection whatever with the trading "Chettis" of the Tamil, Kanarese and Telugu areas.[25] The *Edanâdan Chettis* of the N.W. speak Kanarese. So do the *Mandâdan Chettis* of the E. Wynad; while the *Wynâdan Chettis*, of the Western half of the E. Wynad, though their language is Malayâlam, state definitely that they are Tamil *Vellâḷars* who came *via* Mysore from Dhârâpuram in Coimbatore (fig. 4).

(*To be continued.*)

[16] So writes Mr. Cammiade. The distribution of the several castes and tribes, so far as information is available, is roughly indicated in the figures on the plate.

[17] See Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, p. 57; *Ethnographic Notes*, 468; *Nîlgiri Gazetteer*, 160; *Malabar Gazetteer*, 135; Nair, *op. cit.*, 100.

[18] There are also, according to unpublished figures kindly supplied me by Mr. G. T. Boag, Census Superintendent for 1921, some 3,800 in Ernad Taluk and over 2,000 in Kôttayam.

[19] Nair, pp. 97 and 105.

[20] Nair, pp. 108 *sq.*

[21] Nair, pp. 77 and 80. Cf. *Malabar Gazetteer*, p. 137. These Kâdars have no connection with the teeth chipping "Kâdirs" of the Anaimalais described by Thurston in vol. III, p. 6 *sq.*

[22] Nair, pp. 64, 74 and 59. The term Kurumbar is used indiscriminately for a number of totally different communities. There is no evidence to connect this Mullu section with the Ten or Urali Kurumbars or any other "Kurumbar" of the Tamil, Kanarese or Telugu areas. There are 10,485 "Kurumbas" in Malabar, but it is impossible to say how many of these belong to each of the several communities to whom the term is applied.

[23] *Malabar Gazetteer*, pp. 78 and 82. The Kuricchans in 1921 numbered 5,206 in the Wynad, 1,806 in Kôttayam Taluk and 367 in Kurumbranad.

[24] See *Malabar Gazetteer*, p. 474.

[25] See Nair, pp. 153 *sq.*, Thurston IV, 444 and VII, 413; *Malabar Gazetteer*, p. 123; *Nîlgiri Gazetteer*, p. 158. In 1921 there were 4,735 "Chettis" "other" than Tamil or Telugu in the Malabar Wynad and 601 in Gûdalûr Taluk. But how many of these are included in the three local groups is not known.

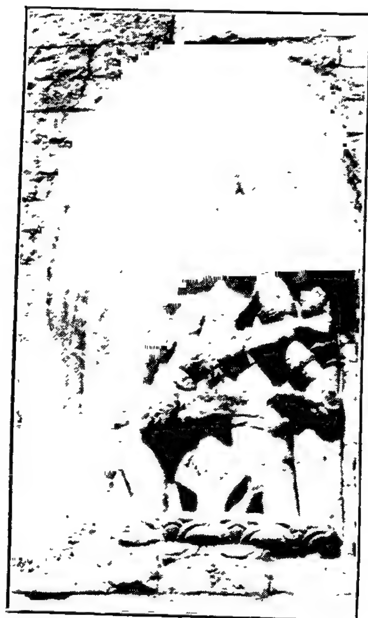


Fig. 6. Narasimhâvatâra.



Fig. 7. Râmacandrâvatâra.

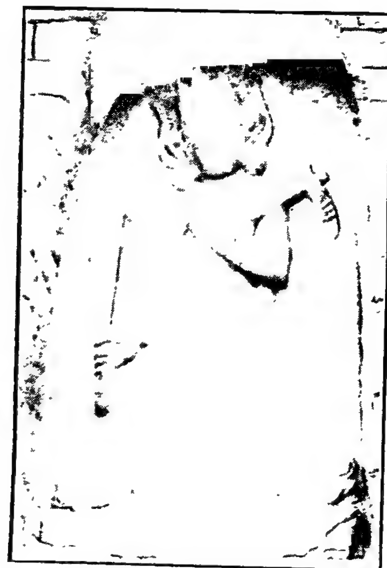


Fig. 8. Paraśurâmâvatâra.



Fig. 9. Sûrya standing.



Fig. 10. Vâmanâvatâra.



Fig. 11. Kalki avatâra.

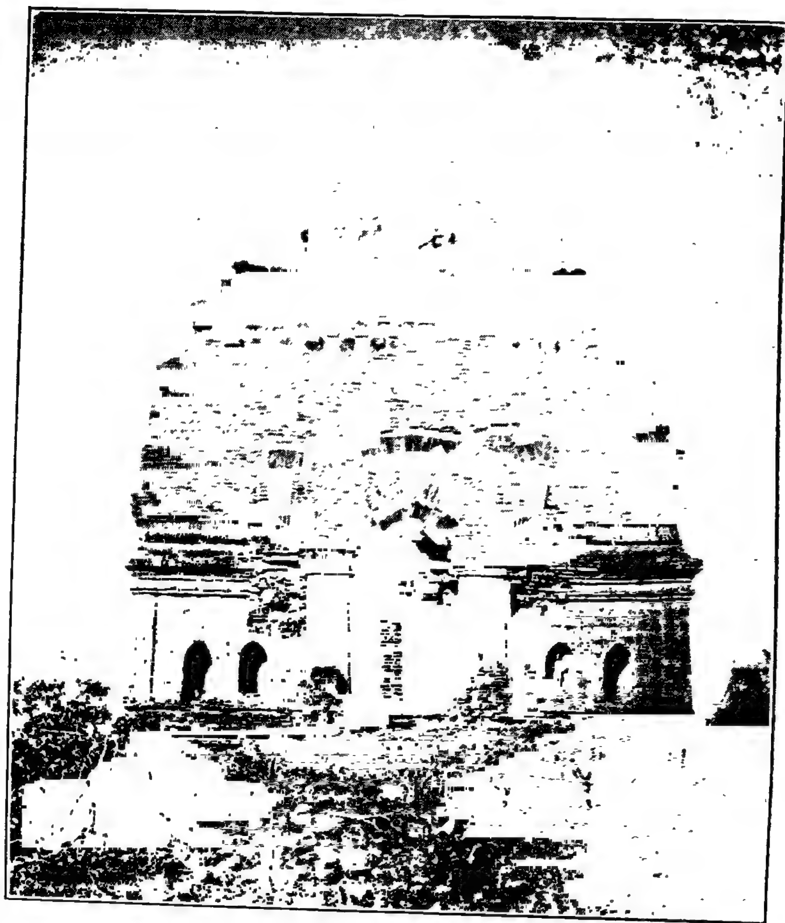


Fig. 1. The Nât-hlâung kyaung, Pagan (East face).



Fig. 2. Viṣṇu seated on Garuḍa.



Fig. 3 Buddhâvatâra.



Fig. 4. Viṣṇu standing.

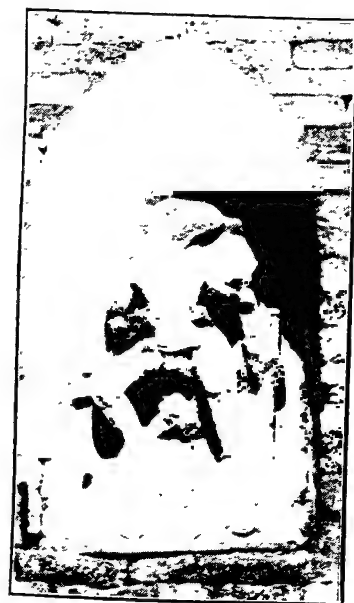


Fig. 5. Varâhâvatâra.

THE NÂT-HLÂUNG TEMPLE AND ITS GODS (PAGAN, BURMA).

BY NIHAR-RANJAN RAY, M.A.

THE Nât-hlâung temple, or the Nât-hlâung kyaung, as it is locally called, is one of the hundreds of more or less ruined monuments of old Pagan, and is the only Viṣṇu, in fact, the only Hindu, temple now extant in Burma (fig. 1). It is an interesting monument not so much from the viewpoint of its architectural importance as it is from the viewpoint of history and the cult it represents. "The name," says Monsr. Charles Duroiselle, Superintendent of Archæology in Burma, "implies that it was built for housing not figures of the Buddha, but statues of deities inferior to him; in this case Hindu figures."[1] In fact, it is a Viṣṇu temple enshrining in the niches of its walls as well as in those of the central obelisk, figures of the different incarnations of Viṣṇu, and having as its principal deity an image of Viṣṇu seated on his *vâhana*, Garuḍa, placed in the main sanctum formed by a large niche in the middle of the east face of the central obelisk.

1. The Temple.

The temple, according to tradition, was founded by king Taung Thugyi, who is said to have lived from *c.* 931 to 964 A.D.—a period too early for the style of the building as well as for that of the sculptures decorating its walls. Nor is there any epigraphical or literary evidence to support so early a date. "The only mention in Burmese of a Hindu temple built at Pagan is found in a late manuscript called *Pugan Mro Phura Samon*, or Record of the Pagan Pagodas, where it is said that it was built by king Anaorahta after his return from the conquest of Thâtoñ (1037 A.D.). This might have well been the case, but in the absence of any authoritative corroboration, and in the light of the fact borne out by epigraphs that Anaorahta was then a fervent adherent of the Simhalese form of Southern Buddhism, it is doubtful whether this bigoted prince would have gone to the length of building a Hindu temple." Curiously enough, as Monsr. Duroiselle has already pointed out, there has been discovered an inscription recording the erection of a Viṣṇu temple at Pagan. The record purports to say that a Vaiṣṇava saint named Irayiran Siriyan, a resident of Magodayarapattanam in Mali Maṇḍalam and a disciple of Śrî Kulaśekhara "made a *maṇḍapa*, gave a door" in the temple of "Nânâdeśî Vinnagara Alavar" at Pukâm *alias* Arivattanapuram. Magodayarapattanam in Mali Maṇḍalam is Cranganore in Malabar; Pukâm is certainly Pugâmâ of the Kalyâṇî inscriptions, and Pukhân or Pugân of Chinese travellers; and Arivattanapura is apparently Arimaddanapura, another name of Old Pagan. "Nânâdeśî Vinnagara means," says Hultzsch, "the Viṣṇu temple of those coming from various countries. This name shows that the temple, which is situated in the heart of the Buddhist country of Burma, had been founded and was resorted to by Vaiṣṇavas from various parts of the Peninsula."[2] As Nât-hlâung kyaung is the only Viṣṇu temple that is still extant at Pagan, and as there is no reference to any other Vaiṣṇava monument in the same locality in literature or inscriptions, it is only natural to infer, as Monsr. Duroiselle has done, that Nât-hlâung is the very temple referred to in the Tamil inscription. But from the record itself, it seems that the temple had already existed there when the *maṇḍapa* was made and the door was given to it. Dr. Hultzsch refers the inscription to the thirteenth century A.D. on palæographic grounds, and as the inscription records the gift of the *maṇḍapa* and the door, not the erection of the temple itself, it is almost certain that the temple had been built before the thirteenth century. It is, therefore, quite likely that the tradition contained in the Burmese manuscript referred to above is true, and that Anaorahta, who flourished in the last half

[1] *An. Report A.S.I.*, 1912-13, p. 136.

[2] *An. Report A. S. Burma.* 1902-03, p. 7.

of the eleventh century A.D. might have built the temple. This is a date which seems to be in exact accord with the style of the sculptures decorating the niches of the temple. Anaorahta was indeed a fervent adherent of the Southern form of Simhalese Buddhism, but when we read through the Môn records, and remember that in the Pagan court the Brâhmaṇas played a very prominent part in the rituals and ceremonies of the court, and that these Brâhmaṇas who were mostly worshippers of Nârâyaṇa (Viṣṇu) required a place of worship for their own community—when we take all these facts into consideration, we are at once led to assume that Anaorahta could not but allow this simple prerogative to the most honoured Brâhmaṇa priests of his court who, it may be surmised, had approached him with their request, and whom he wanted not to displease, however 'bigoted' he might have been.

From the traces on the outer walls of the eastern, i.e., the entrance face of the shrine, as also from the raised yard of the temple itself, it seems that there was originally a porch or a vestibule which had most probably been intended as the *maṇḍapa* referred to in the Tamil inscription just discussed. But, unfortunately, it has crumbled down as it had most probably been added later on and had not formed part of the original structure. The doorway has a stone frame, of which the lintel has also been broken to pieces; and if our surmise can be pushed still further, it is this stone-framed door that was made a gift of by the Vaiṣṇava saint. The broken lintel has now been replaced by a beam of reinforced concrete.

In plan, the Nât-hlâung temple is square, raised on a panelled and moulded plinth about five feet high above the ground. Like similar temples in Pagan, the interior of the square is occupied by a perambulatory corridor running all round a central square obelisk, which is a solid masonry structure, and on the three faces of which there originally were figures of gods standing in niches adorned with pilasters. On the outer walls of the square cella there are, as we have already noticed, arched niches, each originally containing one stone sculpture. Some of them are now lost or have been carried away to other countries; others that remain still *in situ* are more or less badly damaged. In the niches of the interior obelisk there were originally standing images of Viṣṇu, only one of which is now comparatively well preserved. Of the ten outer sculptures representing the ten *avatâras* of Viṣṇu, seven only remain: " there three of the four niches on the east side are empty, the sculptures having apparently been removed from them and destroyed by iconoclasts; the figures that remain bear visible traces of wilful disfiguration."[3]

II. The Images.

We begin by describing the main deity of the temple. We have already said that the centre of the interior is occupied by a square obelisk. In the middle of the east face of this obelisk is a large deep niche. It is here that the principal figure was once enshrined. The identity of this principal figure was long unknown, and even up till the first decade of this century it was known to have been lost. Colonel Yule, while visiting Pagan, saw lying on the floor of this temple two images,[4] one standing and another seated, both of stone. The standing one is a statue of Śiva, now housed in the Pagan Museum; the seated one (4. ft. high) is an image of Viṣṇu on his Garuḍa, and has now found a home in the Berlin Museum.[5] Credit is due to Monsr. Duroiselle for pointing out, for the first time, that the principal figure of the temple should be identified with the god now housed in the Berlin Museum[6] and that Colonel Yule was wrong in describing this figure as coming from the niche above the capital on the left of the sanctum proper. The slab represents the figure of Viṣṇu seated

[3] *An. Report A.S.I.*, 1912-13, *ibid.*

[4] Sir H. Yule, *Narrative of the Mission to the Court of Ava in* 1855, p. 53 ff.

[5] *An. Report A. S. Burma*, 1913, p. 18; Plate 11, fig. 1.

[6] *Sculptures aus Pagan*, by Grünwedel, cited in *An. Report A.S.I.*, 1912-13.

on a lotus throne resting on Garuḍa (fig. 2). The whole piece of sculpture is executed in bold relief; the lotus petals of the seat are shown in sharp, beautiful curves; the god is seated in *padmâsana* attitude, with a reposeful smile; the bird Garuḍa poses itself as if ready to fly; and both the god and his *vâhana* are elaborately ornamented from their head downwards to the ankles. Beautiful *kirîta-mukuṭa* with fluttering scarves on two sides crown the head of the god; the ornaments round the arms, wrist and ankles are simple, but those on the ears, neck and waist are profusely and elaborately executed. The representation of the Garuḍa is somewhat peculiar and differs considerably from similar examples at Hmawza and other places in Burma. The bird shows a short, stunted human bust resting on two heavy rounded feet, with a pair of heavy wings scratched in short, rounded lines. The god holds in his upper hands the disc and the conch respectively. The palm of the lower right hand which is raised almost to the chest, is unfortunately mutilated, so much so that the attribute can scarcely be recognised, but the position of the hand seems to indicate that it was probably a *vilva* or *mutuliṅga* fruit, as is usually the case in Burma. The lower left hand holds the club, not at the top, but round the middle. It is interesting to find this example of Viṣṇu seated on his Garuḍa as in Indian examples; and the pose and the attitude of the god and his vehicle are more or less akin to those of similar sculptures in India. Interesting also is the lotus-seat that intervenes between Viṣṇu and Garuḍa; it is because of this that the flying attitude of the bird loses its real iconographic significance, and serves as a decorative figure.

Over the two capitals on the two sides of the principal figure are two small niches (2 ft. high) that must once have housed two statues. Of these two, one still remains *in situ* (fig. 3). It is a small slab of stone representing likewise the figure of Viṣṇu seated in *padmâsana* pose, resting on Garuḍa with outstretched wings. The figure is badly mutilated, but enough remains to show that it is nothing but a Garuḍa. The god is ornamented with simple but heavy ornaments round the wrists and arms, but they are not so elaborate as in the preceding figure, nor is there a *mukuṭa* of any description whatsoever. The head-dress is most simple and is similar to those so common on the heads of the figures of Buddha in Burma. The dress is plain, and " resembles," Monsr. Duroiselle points out, " that of a Buddhist monk." The iconography of the figure seems all the more interesting when we mark the attitude as well as the physiognomy of the face, which is peculiarly Burmese in character. Noticeable also are the two distended earlobes—a feature peculiar to the Buddha images. Rightly has it been identified as the Buddha *avatâra* of Viṣṇu. The *vâhana* Garuḍa and the attributes, such as the disc held in the second right hand on a level with the shoulder, and the club, which is visible in the left arm resting on the knee, determine once for all the cult to which the god belongs.

On the northern, western and southern faces of the centra lobelisk referred to above were originally three figures of three standing deities cut in relief in brick and placed in three niches flanked with slender pilasters. The figures are all badly defaced, and the different attributes can hardly be traced. The three figures are replicas of one another; they are all of the same type, with the same pose and with graceful limbs beautifully adorned with ornaments richly carved. The position of the four hands is the same in each, and it is most likely that they carried the same attributes. One of the three is comparatively better preserved (fig. 4); and this is described by Monsr. Duroiselle as follows :—" The lower right arm is missing. The upper right hand holds what remains of a broken object, probably the disc. The lower left arm rests on the club, traces of which are visible . . . . ; the upper left hand holds the conch, the outlines of which are still perfectly seen . . . . This last attribute

[7] *An. Report A.S.I.*, 1912-13. p. 138.

shows it to be Viṣṇu. Similar traces of the once existing symbols are visible, but much more faintly, on the bricks behind the two other statues."[7] The standing position, most common to late medieval Viṣṇu images in India, the smooth and refined modelling of the slender body, the beautifully executed ornaments, and above all the physiognomy of the figures suffice to show that they are frankly Indian in character, belonging to a period not later than the eleventh century A.D.

Now we come to the images in the niches of the outer walls of the temple. The niche at the eastern end of the south wall is occupied by a representation of the Varâha *avatâra* of Viṣṇu (fig. 5). The figure, like all the others, is badly mutilated. The boar-head has specially suffered, but the attitude of the legs and the position of the head turned towards the left shoulder, on which the defaced female figure of the seated Bhûdevî can be clearly noticed, are more than convincing. The heavy chignon of the goddess falling on her back and the hands clasped in adoration are represented with a thoroughness of detail. The hands are mostly broken off ; the attributes cannot, therefore, be recognised, but the mace (*gadâ*) held at the middle by the left lower hand, as well as the petals of the lotus throne are clearly distinguishable. It may be mentioned here that the attitude of the two legs which is generally determined by the attitude of the head, has here been to some extent misunderstood. If the head is turned towards the left, it is natural for us to expect, from similar examples in India as well from artistic requirement, that the left leg should be bent and the right kept straight and strong, or vice versa. But, here, though the head is turned towards the left, the leg bent is the right one and not the left.

One of the niches is occupied by a representation of the Narasiṃha *avatâra* of Viṣṇu (fig. 6). The attitude of the legs with their knee-joints bent forward as well as the lower hands holding something in the lap are interesting, and are the determining factors for the identification of the divinity. The figure on the lap is completely gone, traces of the stone are only left ; but the lines of the lion face of the principal figure with at least six hands and the sharp nails of one of the hands that are used to rend the body of Hiraṇyakaśipu that can yet be traced, leave no doubt as to its being the Narasiṃha *avatâra* of Viṣṇu.

A third niche is occupied by a representation of a two-handed divinity standing erect on a lotus throne with the head slightly bent towards the left (fig. 7). The head is crowned with the usual but peculiar head-dress with flame designs on two sides ; but the face is mutilated and it is difficult to make out anything. The god is dressed to the knees, and the hands holding respectively the arrow and the bow at once show that it is a figure of the Râmachandra *avatâra* of Viṣṇu. The iconographic texts would lay down that "Râmachandra should never have more than two arms ; in the right hand the *bâṇa*, or arrow, should be held, and in the left hand the *dhanus*, or the bow ;"[8] and the present icon strictly follows this text. But some of the texts demand that an image of Śrî Râma should be a standing one, with three bends in the body, in other words, it has to be a standing image of the *tribhaṅga* variety, an injunction followed in most of the South Indian images of Râmachandra. This has here been disregarded ; nor is the divinity accompanied by Sîtâ, Lakṣmaṇa or Hanumâna, as laid down in certain other, especially South Indian, texts.

A fourth niche is occupied by an image easily distinguishable as Paraśurâma (fig. 8), another *avatâra* of Viṣṇu. The figure stands on a lotus throne flanked by two full blown lotuses ; it is crowned by the usual head-dress and decorated with simple ornaments. The attitude of the body is erect, but the head is slightly bent towards the right. The hands,

[8] T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. I, Part I, p. 189.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 186.

two in number, hold respectively a staff-like object, perhaps a *khaḍga*, or sword, raised upwards, and an axe resting on the left shoulder. The latter attribute determines the iconography of the sculpture. Here the icon differs a bit from written texts, inasmuch as the texts would require the *paraśu*, or axe, to be in the right hand, and the left hand to be in the *sûchî* pose, as if pointing to something.[9] But the *Agni Purâṇa* would have four hands for *Paraśurâmâvatâra*, holding the *paraśu*, *khaḍga*, *bâṇa* and *dhanus*, respectively. This helps to determine that the object held in the right hand can be nothing else than a *khaḍga*.

Of the ten niches, we already know that three on the east side are empty; the icons have not yet been traced, and there is very little hope of their being found in future. Of the seven that remain, four, e.g., Varâha, Narasiṃha, Râmachandra and Paraśurâma, have already been identified without any very great difficulty. Of the rest, two are so badly defaced that it is difficult to be certain about their identification; yet we shall make an attempt. The third is one of the best preserved images of the Nât-hlâung kyaung. No attempt has so far been made to identify these three images. We begin with the third, the presence of which in a Viṣṇu temple is interesting. It is surprising to learn, in the first instance, that it is not an image of Viṣṇu, nor of any of his ten *avatâras*. It is sheltered in the niche close to the entrance on the proper left (fig. 9). The image can easily be described, but it is better to quote Monsr. Duroiselle:—" It is standing on a lotus flower from which two other smaller ones spring; the arms are placed close to the body bent upwards at the elbows, and each hand holds a lotus bud on a level with the shoulders. It wears a crown; the distended earlobes hang down and touch the shoulders under the weight of large ear ornaments. It has bracelets, armlets, anklets; the lower garment is tucked up and reaches as far as the knees; lines showing the folds are visible." Monsr. Duroiselle was not able to identify it, but he added: " The number of niches would lead one to suppose that this also represents one of Viṣṇu's *avatâras*; but it has none of the distinctive attributes of any of these."[10] And precisely for this reason, it is not any of the *avatâras* of Viṣṇu, but seems in all likelihood to be an image of Sûrya of the South Indian variety. The position of the two hands, as well as the lotus buds, held in a line with the shoulder, are significant; no less significant is the number of the hands, namely two (a feature peculiar to South Indian images of Sûrya) and the strictly erect pose of standing as well. The high boots covering the two legs and the horses drawing the chariot of the divinity are, no doubt, missing in the present example; but this is not at all to be wondered at, for these are exactly the features wanting in South Indian Sûrya images. The iconographic affinity between the two is such that it is difficult to exclude the possibility of its being a Sûrya image.[11] It is, no doubt, surprising to find a Sûrya image where we would naturally seek for an *avatâra* of Viṣṇu. But, the fact can easily be understood if we only remember the very intimate relation of Viṣṇu with the Vedic Sûrya. For in the Vedas he is never a supreme god, but is always identified with the sun, and is said to have stridden over the seven regions and to have covered the whole universe in three steps, a story in which the germ of the later Trivikrama tradition of Viṣṇu is so often traced. " The idea underlying this solar explanation is obviously incorporated in the *dhyâna śloka Dhêya-ssadâ savitṛi-maṇḍala-madhyavartî Nârâyaṇa-ssarasijâsana sanniviṣṭaḥ* | *kêyûravân makara-kuṇḍalavân kirîṭi hâri hiraṇmaya vapuḥ dhṛita-śaṅkha-chakraḥ* || wherein Vishṇu as Nârâyaṇa is described as residing in the orb of the sun. The idea that Vishṇu is the sun appears to be still maintained in the worship of the sun as *Sûrya-Nârâyaṇa*."[12]

(*To be continued.*)

10 *An. Report A.S.I.*, 1912-13, p. 138.

11 T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, vol. I, Part II, Plates lxxxvi, xciv (fig. 2), and xcvi (Sûrya).

12 *Ibid.*, vol. I, Pt. I, p. 74. Also see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. LIV (1925), p. 161, J. N. Banerjee.

BOOK-NOTICES.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, 1927-28. 13 × 10 in.; pp. xii+206; 57 plates. Calcutta, 1931.

This report has been edited by Mr. H. Hargreaves, who succeeded Sir John Marshall as Director-General when the latter was placed on special duty in September 1928. Under Conservation we find a record of useful work carried out in all the circles, especially at Kâlañjar and Deogaṛh (U. P.), at Lahore, at Nâlandâ and Rohtâsgaṛh (B. & O.), at Gauṛ, Pahâṛpur and Râmpâl (Bengal), at Hampi, and Mahâbalipuram (Madras) and at Mandalay (Burma). In the section on Exploration and Research Sir J. Marshall describes the results of work carried out at the fortress and monasteries of Giri and at the lower city of Sirkap. The evidence at the latter site indicates, he thinks, that in the third and fourth centuries B.C. Sirkap must have formed part and parcel of the city on the Bhir Mound. From the trial trenches a number of coins were recovered, including one described as the earliest type of coin yet found on the Sirkap site, and probably earlier than the well known punch-marked issues. Unfortunately neither this coin nor any of the 81 gold punch-marked coins reported to have been found at Venne in the Vizagapatam district have been figured on the plates. Mr. Mackay deals with the excavations conducted in two areas at Mohenjodaro. Mr. N. G. Majumdar gives a short account of the results of his exploration at Jhukar, some 16 miles farther north, where not only prehistoric antiquities identical with those found at Mohenjodaro and Harappâ (including another steatite seal) have been recovered, but also remains of the Gupta period. This site appears to have been deserted by the time of the Arab conquest of Sind. Mr. Vats describes further fruitful excavation done by him at Harappâ. Of the work carried out at Nâlandâ we have a graphic account, with useful explanatory plans, by Mr. Page; while the progress made at Pahâṛpur and Hmawza is reported by Mr. Dikshit and M. Duroiselle, respectively.

Special interest attaches to the description on pp 113-121 by Mr. Longhurst of the important discoveries made at Nâgârjunikoṇḍa in the Guntur district of Madras, which will take rank as one of the most important Buddhist sites in southern India. Here, within an area of roughly 1½ square miles enclosed by hills and a bend of the Kistna river, have been found the remains of several Buddhist *stûpas*, temples and monasteries, with sculptured slabs, friezes and pillars of a workmanship rivalling, if not in some cases excelling, as Mr. Longhurst is inclined to think, the famous sculptures of Amarâvatî, as well as a large number of interesting Prakrit inscriptions in Brâhmî script. The remains and epigraphical records found at this site are of importance from several points of view, architectural, historical and geographical. For instance, the function of *ayaka-khaṁbhas* and the method of their arrangement, in rows of five at each of the four cardinal points of a *stûpa*, appear to have been conclusively settled by the recovery of 17 such pillars at this site, the original positions of which have been determined by Mr. Longhurst. The inscriptions refer to the Ikhâku dynasty, in the regnal years of which the Jaggayyapeta records are dated. Some 17 of these have already been transcribed and translated, with a valuable and suggestive commentary, by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel in *Ep. Indica*, vol. XX, pp. 1-37 (Jan. 1929). The most notable structure must have been the *mahâchetiya*, or great *stûpa*, which would seem from the inscriptions to have contained a relic of the Buddha. Mr. Longhurst thinks it possible or even probable that the original structure had been erected as early as the second century B.C. or about the same time as the *stûpa* at Bhaṭṭiprolu, the votive pillars and other portions being added later. The brief details given in the report and the illustrations of some of the bas-reliefs recovered suffice to show the site calls for a special, detailed monograph.

In Section V an admirable summary will be found of the explorative work carried out by Sir Aurel Stein in Khârân, Makrân and Jhalâwân in 1927-28, the details of which have already been published in the departmental *Memoir* No. 43.

C. E. A. W. O.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA:

No. 37. An Archæological Tour in Wazîristân and Northern Balûchistân, by SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E. Pp. iii+97; 29 plates and plans, 28 illustrations in text and 1 map. Calcutta, 1929.

No. 42. An Archæological Tour in Upper Swât and Adjacent Hill Tracts, by the same author. Pp. iii+115; 9 plates, 66 illustrations in text and 2 maps. Calcutta, 1930.

These are two records of outstanding importance, not only from the archæological but also from the historical and the geographical point of view. Memoir No. 37 gives a detailed account of a tour made during the months Jan.-April 1927 in Wazîristân and the Zhob, Loralai, Upper Zhob and Pishîn valleys in N. Balûchistân; while the later *Memoir*, No. 42, deals with an earlier tour carried out in March-May 1926 in Swât and Buner and the adjoining tracts towards the Indus. This latter tour has been already described in a more popular form in the work entitled *On Alexander's Track to the Indus* published by Messrs. Macmillan in 1929, reviewed in the Nov. 1929 issue of this journal, where it was described as a tour that will rank as one of the most prolific in results of value to scholars ever accomplished in so short a time (nine weeks). In the present departmental *Memoir* the archæological discoveries have been dealt with more fully

and with greater technical detail, the specimens of pottery and objects in stone and metal recovered have been illustrated and described, and several plans and sections added. The extensive and important geographical survey work done with the aid of K. B. Torabâz Khân has been incorporated in a map, on the scale of 8 in. = 4 mi., of the whole central and upper Swât basin and the adjoining tracts, and in a large scale (2 in. = 1 mi.) contour map of the Ûṇa-sar, Pîr-sar and contiguous ridges. The valuable linguistic material collected has enabled Sir George Grierson to compile a monograph published by the Royal Asiatic Society, entitled *Torwali, an Account of a Dardic Language of the Swât Kohistân,* about which hardly anything was previously known, as no European had penetrated the Tôrwâl valley. The tour will always be memorable for the many identifications achieved by Sir Aurel, not only of sites referred to by Hsüan-tsang and of the strongholds of the Assakenoi, Bazira and Ôra, mentioned by the Greek historians, but more particularly for the conclusive identification of the famous "Rock of Aornos." A special feature of this *Memoir* is the large number of beautiful photographs taken by Sir Aurel, which illustrate it.

The second *Memoir* (No. 37) also contains matter of deep archæological and historical interest, dealing with an area which in the distant past must have formed a link between the civilisations of the Indus basin and Îrân and the Tigris-Euphrates plains. The selection of the sites visited in the Zhob basin and Pishîn valley was influenced by the record of investigations made in 1898 by Dr. Fritz Noetling, paleontologist to the Geological Survey of India, which had established the existence there of interesting prehistoric remains. Out of a large number of sites visited and explored by Sir Aurel in the course of this fruitful tour of some 1,400 miles only a few can be noticed here.

At Surkh-ḍherai, Chaudhwân and Chîchâ-ḍherai in Wazîristân, remains of pottery were found showing affinity to examples of painted pottery recovered from certain prehistoric sites in N. Balûchistân as well as to patterns found by Sir Aurel in southern Sîstân. In the central Zhob valley, at Periâno-ghuṇḍai, important finds were made of painted pottery of superior make, cinerary pots containing bones and ashes, in positions indicating intramural burial, stone and copper implements, etc. The stratification gave strong support for the belief that the remains at this site had been deposited by dwellers occupying the place during a prolonged, yet homogeneous culture period. These remains were associated with stone implements of neolithic type and also with copper weapons and ornaments. Sir Aurel has remarked that the resemblance of the motifs used in the painted pottery (see Pls. V & VI) to that recovered from culture strata ascribed to pre-Sumerian times in Mesopotamian sites is very striking, and that even closer links perhaps are to be found with the remains from wind-eroded prehistoric sites in southern Sîstân.

In the Loralai district, several trenches were cut in the enormous mound known as Ḍabar-koṭ, which is nearly a mile in circumference and rises to 113 feet above the plain. This mound was found to be composed of a succession of strata of clay containing potsherds, bones and stones, of ashes intermingling with calcined bones and other charred remains, and of pebbles and rubble. The evidence indicated that the dwellings occupying the central portion had been repeatedly subjected to great conflagrations. This site had evidently been occupied from very remote times, through the 'chalcolithic' period and down to the early centuries of our era. The ceramic remains, however, appeared to be attributable on the whole to a somewhat later period than those at Periâno-ghuṇḍai. At Sûr-jangal, again, some 12 mi. SW. from Loralai, an abundance of painted pottery of superior fabric and of artistic designs and delicate colouring, associated throughout with worked stones, came to light (Pls. XX & XXI), far superior to that found at Ḍabar-koṭ and other sites, and more closely resembling the Periâno-ghuṇḍai types.

One of the most interesting finds made was that of the remains of a Buddhist *stûpa* at Tôr-ḍherai, some two miles north of Ḍabar-koṭ, including the relic deposit. Here also were picked up a number of potsherds inscribed with Kharoṣṭhî and Brâhmî characters (Pls. XVII-XIX). Prof. Sten Konow, to whom these inscriptions were referred, has shown (see Appendix) that they contain a record of the dedication of a watering-place for men and beasts by Shâhi Yola-Mîra, in connexion with his own 'Yola-Mîra-shâhi *vihâra*, where Buddhist monks of the Sarvâstivâdin school resided. Much historical importance attaches to the discovery of these remains, which we owe to the practised eye of Sir Aurel, who was led by indications that would probably have escaped the notice of others, to excavate the top of this hillock. This find, as Sir Aurel writes, is "the first to attest the practice of Buddhist doctrine and cult on those south-eastern marches of Îrân which are comprised in the present Balûchistân. They thus form a useful link with those traces of the influence of Buddhist iconography which, I believe, can be recognized in some mural paintings of the Kôh-i-Khwâja site of Sîstân much further away to the west." The name and title of the donor, moreover, point to the extension

of Kushân rule over this portion of Balûchistân; while the chronological indications of the script and language (almost pure Sanskrit) are also of value. Sir Aurel notes that Tôr-dherai is the first place where travellers coming from the direction of Dukî can now obtain water "after traversing for about six miles an utterly arid waste of bare clay, rock and detritus." Yet an important highway between east and west must have passed through these valleys from prehistoric times, the memory of which was alive till some three centuries ago at all events, as Steel and Crowther went by here on their journey from India to Persia in 1614, and Sebastian Manrique followed the same route in 1642.

The Chinese traveller Hsüan-tsang in his reference to *Fa-la-na*, "the identity of which with Bannû and the adjacent part of the Dêrajât is not subject to doubt," in Sir Aurel's opinion, relates that the local people reported that adjoining it on the west was a country called *Ki-kiang-na* situated among mountain valleys, with local chiefs and no supreme ruler, and that the country abounded in sheep and horses, including a breed of excellent horses very rare in other countries and highly prized. Sir Aurel now definitely identifies this country—the Qîqân of the Arab historians—with Wazîristân together perhaps with some adjacent mountain tracts of the same character to the south of the Gumal. This is but another example of how Alexander Cunningham was so often on the right scent.

The observations recorded on pages 89-90 regarding the possibility of climatic change in these hilly and now arid regions will be read with special interest by students of physical and historical geography; while archæologists will be attracted by the marked resemblance between much of the material discovered and the remains of the 'chalcolithic' period brought to light during recent years at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. "What their approximate chronological relation with regard to the latter may be still stands in need of further investigation. But so much is certain," concludes Sir Aurel, "in view of the geographical position which those sites of the chalcolithic period in Northern Balûchistân occupy that they help us very usefully to link up the prehistoric civilization now revealed on the lower Indus with that traced already before in Îrân and easternmost Mesopotamia."

C. E. A. W. O.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

ARECA, LEAF-NUT.

In a recent issue of the *I.A.* the author of the notes on Hobson-Jobson suggested that *areca* in areca-nut was derived from Sanskrit *pûga*. They are, it appears to me, as far apart as the poles. The Arabic word *fufal* for areca-nut (see *Hobson-Jobson, s.v.* areca) may, however, be said to be akin to *pûga*. For it seems to be derived from Sanskrit *pûga-phala* (= the fruit of the areca palm), with the final vowel *a* dropped from both the component words as is usual in Hindustânî and other languages. The word *coffolo* for areca-nut occurring in the quotation of 1510 A.D. in *Hobson-Jobson*, 1903, may be a mistake for *foufel* found in the quotation of 1624.

The words for areca-nut in Dravidian are :—

Tamil : *aṭaikkây*, or *aḍaikkây* (அடைக்காய்)
Malayâlam : *aṭaykkâ* (அடய்க்கா)
Kanarese : *aḍike*
Tulu : *aḍike* (as above).

The Portuguese who came to Malabar in 1498 A.D. must have modelled their word *areca* on the Malayâlam, Kanarese, or Tulu form of the word for the nut.

The ordinary man's word for the nut is *pâkkə* in Malayâlam, *pâkku* (பாக்கு) in Tamil, and *pôkka* in Telugu. These must be from Sanskrit *pûga*, or *vice versa*. It is the Malabar and Tulu Brâhmaṇs that call the nut *aṭaykkâ* in Malayâlam. Some of the low class people of Malabar call it *kawuṅkâ* (கவுங்கா), the nut of *kawuṅṅə*.

The Malayâlam word *aṭaykkâ* is made up of *aṭa* (அட) and *kâ* (கா). In old Malayâlam *aṭa* seems to have had the meaning leaf. *Kâ* means fruit, nut. So that *aṭaykkâ* means leaf-nut, i.e., betel-leaf-nut, betel-nut. The Oxford Dictionary, however, gives it the root meaning of 'close-clustering nut.'

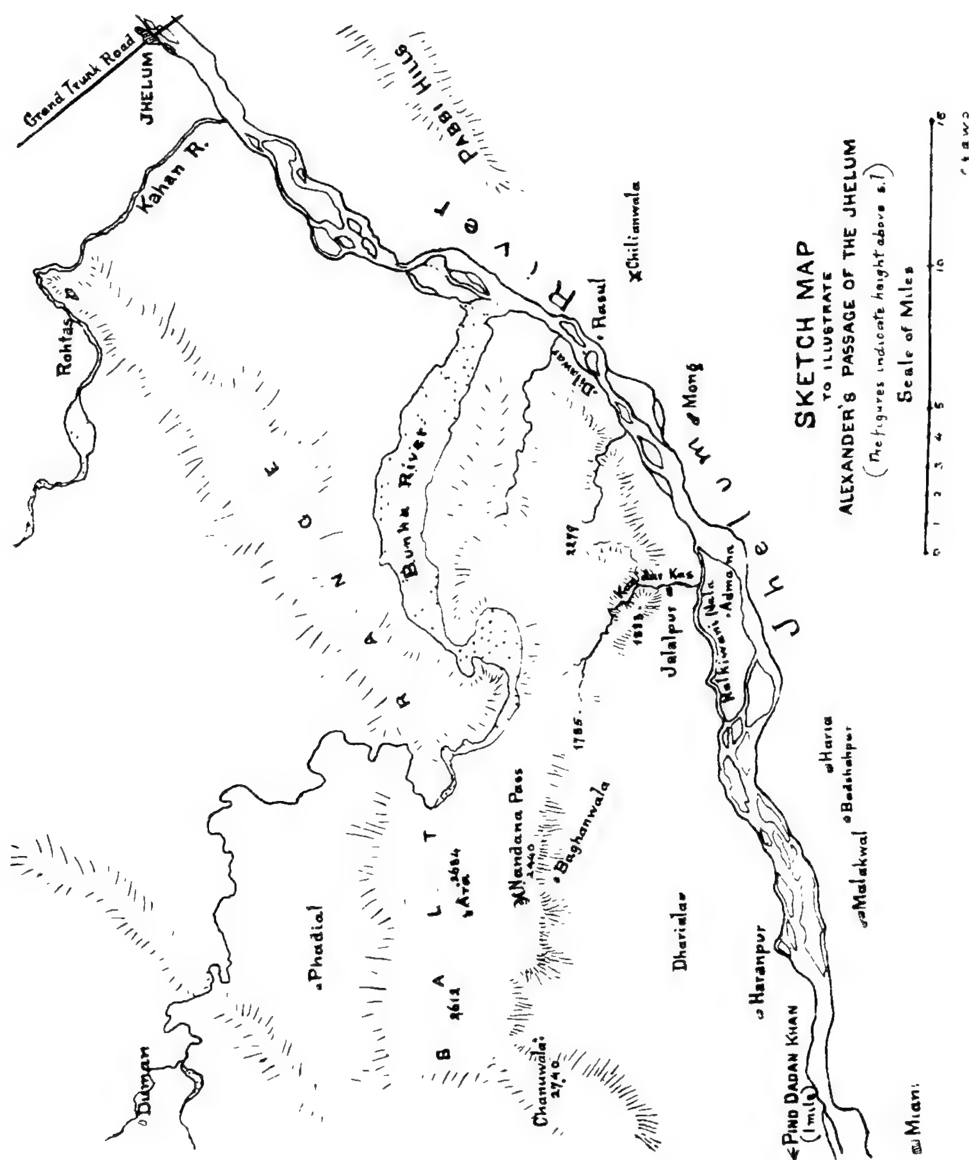
The Portuguese represented the Dravidian cerebrals *ṭ* and *ḍ* by their *r* as in the following words :—

Tûttukkuṭi (or——ḍi, தூத்துக்குடி) : Tuticoṟin
Tiruvâṅkôṭə (திருவாங்கோடு) : Travancoṟe
So, *aṭaykkâ* (அடய்க்கா) : aṟeca

The tree is called *kawuṅṅə* (கவுங்ஙு), or *kamukə* (கமுகு), or *aṭaykkâ maram* (= areca-nut tree) in Malayâlam. The first two are allied to the Sanskrit *kramuka*.

The old Tamil Dictionary *Nâmadîpa Nighaṇṭu* includes the word *aṭai* (அடை) among the synonyms for இலை (leaf) and those for வெற்றிலை (betel leaf), which was esteemed as the leaf *par excellence*. In the Tamil country a betel leaf pouch is called அடைப்பை, which literally means leaf-pouch. அடப்பம் and அடப்பன் in Malayâlam mean the same thing as Tamil அடைப்பை. In the passage "அடைக்காய மிது வெறுங்காய் காலும் வெற்றிலை யக உம்" (*South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. V, No. 32) அடைக்காய் means 'leaf and nut,' i.e., *pan-supârî*, exactly.

T. K. JOSEPH.


SKETCH MAP
TO ILLUSTRATE
ALEXANDER'S PASSAGE OF THE JHELUM
(The figures indicate height above s.l.)
Scale of Miles
0 1 2 3 4 5 10 15
Grand Trunk Road
JHELUM
Kahan R.
Rohtas
PABBI Hills
River Jhelum
Chilianwala
Rasul
Dilawar
Mong
Bunha River
SALT RANGE
2219
Jalalpur
Admana
Nandana Pass
2440
Baghanwala
Ara
2684
1785
Haria
Badshahpur
Malakwal
Phadial
Dharial
Haranpur
2612
Chanuwala
2740
PIND DADAN KHAN
(1 mile)
Miani

ALEXANDER'S PASSAGE OF THE JHELUM.*

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E.

THE site of Alexander's bold passage of the Hydaspes, the present Jhelum, and his victory over King Poros's Indian army has been much discussed, but no definite solution of the question could be reached. Different locations were proposed by those officers who, in days long past, visited one part or another of the ground where routes from the Indus descend through the Salt Range to the Jhelum river. Neither they nor the scholars forming their opinions on those locations in the study had access to the accurate data to be gathered from the excellent large-scale maps of the Survey of India and modern antiquarian information.

Prolonged experience elsewhere had taught me that even with the help thus afforded careful examination on the ground would be needed for a safe conclusion. The necessary freedom for such an investigation was offered to me last November while awaiting the start on archæological explorations in Southern Persia, which the generous support of Harvard University and the British Museum has rendered possible.

Alexander's passage of the Jhelum, when it was swollen in flood, and his decisive victory over the vastly superior army of his brave Indian adversary represent a historical event of lasting importance. It will suffice here to indicate briefly those data from the extant classical records of the event that help us to locate its scene. They are mainly to be gathered from Arrian's *Anabasis*. It was at Taxila that Alexander learned of the opposition which Poros, ruler of the region beyond the Hydaspes, was preparing to his advance into the Panjab. Taxila provides an absolutely safe starting point for Alexander's route from the side of the Indus ; for the position of Taxila at the ruined site of Shahderi, to the north-west of Rawalpindi, has long ago been correctly determined by General Sir Alexander Cunningham, and Sir John Marshall's excavations have fully confirmed it.

Alexander's march must have taken him across the Salt Range. When he reached the Hydaspes, after a march which Pliny's record puts at 120 Roman miles, " Poros was seen on the opposite side with all his army and his array of elephants around him." Alexander, we are told, " clearly recognized that it was impossible for him to cross where Poros himself encamped near the bank." It was early summer, and the river was swollen by the melting snows of the mountains and unfordable, as it is now at this season. So he diverted the enemy's attention by demonstrations in different directions along his side of the river before making his dispositions for the crossing at the place finally chosen.

About this we are told by Arrian that " there was a headland (ἄκρα) ascending from the bank of the Hydaspes at a point where the river made a remarkable bend, and this was thickly covered with all kinds of trees. Over against it lay an island covered with jungle. . . . Now the headland and the island were 150 stadia [about 17½ miles] from the great camp." Curtius states that the island was greater than the rest of the numerous islands in the river, and adds the important detail of a deep ravine (*prœalta fossa*) near the bank helping there to screen troops, including cavalry.

A Stormy Night.

Leaving parts of his force at the camp, as well as between this and the island, Alexander took selected troops of horse and foot with secrecy to the headland, keeping at a considerable distance from the river. A stormy night of rain hid from observation the embarcation of the troops in boats and on skin rafts previously collected. " They were not seen by Poros's sentries until they had passed beyond the island." The landing was safely effected, but proved to have taken place not on the mainland but on a large island separated from it by a channel of the river that had escaped notice. This, ordinarily shallow, could after the night's rainstorm be forded only with great difficulty.

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Of the events which followed only the briefest summary need be given. Alexander, leading forward his cavalry, some 5,000 strong, easily routed the inferior force of horsemen and chariots first sent against him by Poros. Moving on he came upon the main Indian army, comprising 4,000 cavalry, 300 chariots, 200 elephants, and 30,000 infantry. The exact details recorded of Poros's order of battle afford a useful indication. We are told by Arrian that he posted his elephants in the front line at intervals of at least a plethron (101 ft.); behind them his infantry in a second line. " He had also troops of infantry posted on the wings beyond the elephants, and on both sides of the infantry the cavalry had been drawn up, and in front of it the chariots." It is thus clear that Poros's front must have extended over more than four miles.

Alexander first attacked the cavalry on the enemy's left wing and by an outflanking manœuvre completely routed it. This initial success, gained by the trained skill of the Macedonian cavalry and the genius of its leader, decided the issue. The Macedonian phalanx successfully faced the elephants, though suffering heavy losses. Finally surrounded by Alexander's cavalry and pressed by the phalanx, the whole Indian host was cut to pieces or fled. The pursuit was taken up by the troops which had been left on the right bank and by that time had crossed. Poros himself, after fighting valiantly, was forced to surrender.

As regards the ground which witnessed Alexander's great military achievement, two contending opinions have so far prominently held the field. One—first put forward by Sir Alexander Burnes, advocated by General Abbott in 1852 and learnedly revived by the late Mr. Vincent Smith in his *Early History of India* and other publications—made Alexander follow the line of the modern Grand Trunk Road to Jhelum town. It placed Alexander's crossing at a point ten miles above it, where the river, leaving the foothills, makes a bend, though not a marked one. But there is no " headland ascending from the bank of the river " to be found there, nor any deep ravine such as Curtius mentions.

A still more serious objection to this location revealed itself when I closely examined the ground on the opposite side of the river. For the narrow riverine flat separating there the much broken foot of the Pabbi hills from the left bank of the river is crossed for fully four miles above Jhelum by marshy torrent beds containing quicksands. This ground during the floods of the summer months is quite impassable, whether on foot or horseback. Nor would the limited ground between the river bank and the ravines at the foot of the Pabbi hills have allowed of a battle array extending over more than four miles.

The rival theory, put forth by General Sir Alexander Cunningham in 1863, placed Alexander's camp at Jalalpur, a small town on the right bank of the river, some thirty miles below Jhelum. There one of the several routes leading across the Salt Range south-west of the Grand Trunk Road debouches, and there, as the sketch map shows, the river leaves the foot of a rugged projecting spur of the Salt Range. The Nestor of Indian archæology sought the place of Alexander's crossing at Dilawar, at the upper end of that spur.

But the distance between Jalalpur and Dilawar is only eight miles. This would not agree with the 150 stadia ($17\frac{1}{2}$ miles) definitely mentioned as separating Alexander's camp from the place of crossing. So General Cunningham made Alexander's troops perform a night march of that length, supposing it to have taken them up a narrow winding ravine and then across its head by very difficult tracks down another winding ravine to Dilawar. How a large force could be brought across such difficult ground in a single stormy night remained unexplained.

Jalalpur.

But if the location of Alexander's camp at Jalalpur proved thus untenable, my close examination of this place and its vicinity, on the other hand, revealed a very striking agreement between all its topographical features with the recorded description of Alexander's crossing place. The town, of some 3,000 inhabitants, is built on rising ground at the foot of a small outlier of the Salt Range, which rises close behind it to more than 1,000 ft. above the river. Immediately to the east of it lies the wide, winding mouth of the Kandar Kas, a

torrent bed joining the river. Within less than a mile there passes a northern branch of the Jhelum known as Halkiwani Nala, carrying much water at the time of the summer floods. Jalalpur marks the south-western corner of a boldly projecting spur of the Salt Range, which for a distance of some eight miles higher up falls off steeply to the river washing its foot. Nowhere else along its course after debouching from the mountains does the Jhelum touch ground which could possibly be described as a headland or promontory.

Here at Jalalpur we have a conspicuous headland at a marked bend of the river. There is a winding torrent bed wide enough at its sides to afford room for collecting troops, and with bold hillocks rising on either flank such as would effectively screen preparations for an intended crossing. The Kandar Kas corresponds thus exactly to the *prœalta fossa*, or deep ravine, mentioned by Curtius. There are large trees and bushes growing on the ground on either side of its mouth. And—what deserves special notice—there is a large island stretching down from opposite this mouth between the Halkiwani branch and the present main river bed farther south.

This island, now occupied in patches by fields of the Admana hamlet, measures in length close on five miles. It is subject to inundation in years of heavy floods and therefore abandoned for the most part to jungle growth of high scrub and trees, just as Curtius describes the " island larger than the rest, wooded and suitable for concealing " Alexander's boats and rafts on their passage.

The accord between the topography of the Jalalpur ground and the classical account of the river passage is thus striking enough. But what in my belief definitely locates Alexander's crossing place at Jalalpur is the combined historical and archæological evidence fortunately now available as regards the route which is the most likely to have brought the great conqueror through the Salt Range down to the river.

Below the route which leads down from the Salt Range to Jhelum town, and which the Emperor Sher Shah's great fortress at Rohtas guarded, there is no route that can come into consideration in this connexion until we get to the one which debouches at Jalalpur and which has led to the erroneous location there of Alexander's main camp. But farther down there are several passes which an invader crossing the Salt Range from the side of the Peshawar Valley and Taxila could have conveniently used.

The Pass of Nandana.

Among these passes there is one that figures very significantly in the accounts of the earliest of the invasions after Alexander's of which we have any details. It is the pass of Nandana, repeatedly mentioned, along with the stronghold that guarded it, in connexion with the campaigns of the famous Muhammadan invader of India, Mahmud of Ghazna. As rightly observed by Mr. W. S. Talbot in his " Gazetteer of the Jhelum District " (1905), the holder of the Nandana hill " had the absolute command of what is one of the most obvious routes across the [Salt] Range." The descent through the Nandana pass would bring the invader to the right bank of the Jhelum close to the large village of Haranpur, and the distance from there to Jalalpur, as measured along the present main road, keeping well away from the river, is about seventeen miles, just as Arrian's account indicates it between Alexander's camp on the river and the headland where his crossing took place. Thus topography and antiquarian facts in close agreement lead us to Jalalpur as the site of that successful achievement.

It is on the absolutely open and flat plain which stretches south of the left bank of the river all the way down from Jalalpur to opposite Haranpur that we must look for the field of battle. But its exact position cannot be determined, since we are not told the distance at which Poros's main force was encountered from the place of landing. Nor can we definitely indicate the site of Nikaia, the town which Alexander founded where he gained his victory.

We are in a better position as regards Boukephala, the town founded by Alexander at the place where Boukephalos, his favourite charger, died. Strabo distinctly puts it at the point where Alexander embarked for his passage. We may hence safely locate Boukephala at Jalalpur.

THE GREAT *STÛPA* AT NÂGÂRJUNAKOṆḌA IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY A. H. LONGHURST.

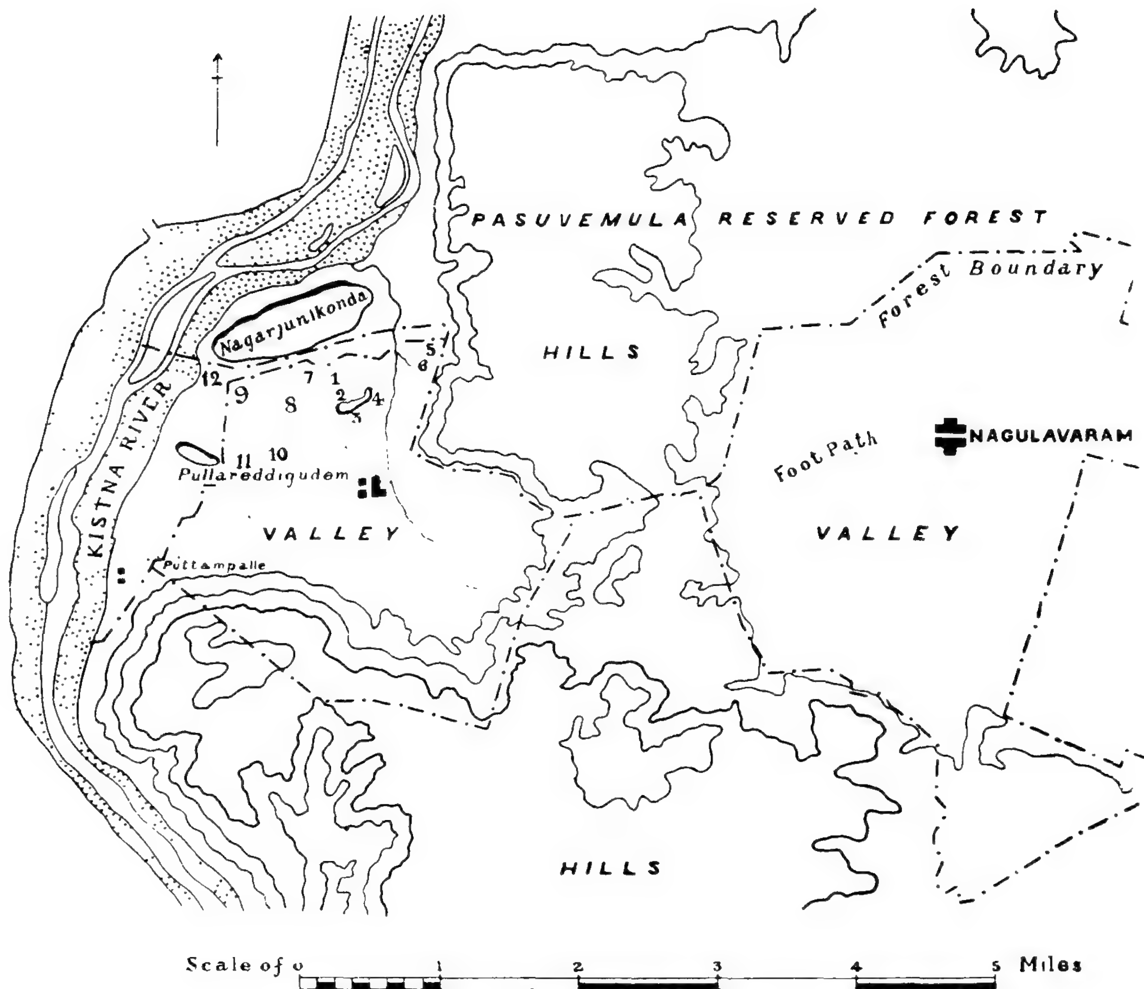
NÂGÂRJUNAKOṆḌA, or Nâgârjuna's hill, is the name of a big rocky flat-topped hill on the right bank of the Krishna river in the Palnâd taluk of the Guntur district of the Madras Presidency, and 15 miles west by north of Macherla railway station, the terminus of the new line from Guntur opened in 1931. The hill stands in a valley completely shut in by a ring of hills, an offshoot of the Nallamalais (Black Hills) of the adjoining Kurnool district, on three sides, with the Krishna river on the fourth or north-western side, where it forms the boundary between this part of the Madras Presidency and the Nizam's Dominions. The annexed site plan (Plate I) shows the geographical features of the area and the positions of the monuments discovered.

Nâgârjunakoṇḍa is about 60 miles distant from Amarâvatî as the crow flies, but considerably further by river. It is a wild and desolate spot, and being shut in by the surrounding rocky hills is usually very hot during most months of the year. There is a rough cart track from Macherla to Nâgulavaram, a distance of 10 miles, but the remaining 5 miles over the hills and through the valley to Nâgârjunakoṇḍa has to be performed on foot, as no cart traffic is possible.

The hill was once fortified, and remains of brick and stone fortifications still remain all along the rugged cliffs surrounding the plateau on its summit, showing that it was once used as a citadel; but no ruined buildings of interest were discovered on the hill. At the eastern foot of the hill and scattered throughout the valley are a number of ruined *stûpas* of all sizes, from little structures 8 feet in diameter to large ones like the Great *Stûpa*, 106 feet in diameter. There are also many ruined monasteries and apsidal Buddhist temples, showing that, at one time, there existed here a large and flourishing Buddhist settlement, far larger in fact than the one at Amarâvatî lower down the river. A number of important inscriptions in Prakrit and in Brâhmî characters of about the second century A.D. were discovered in connection with the Great *Stûpa* and two apsidal temples. Professor Vogel of Leiden University has published an account of these old records in the *Epigraphia Indica*, volume XX, 1931. Besides a number of inscriptions and ruined buildings, many lead coins of the Ândhra period, gold and silver reliquaries, pottery, statues and over four hundred magnificent bas-relief sculptures similar to those from Amarâvatî, were recovered during the excavations which I conducted at Nâgârjunakoṇḍa during the cold seasons of 1928 to 1931, when I completed the explorations. A brief account of these discoveries appears in the *Annual Reports* of the Archæological Survey of India for those years, but a fully illustrated account of the remarkable discoveries made would fill a large volume, and has yet to be written.

The historical information furnished by the inscriptions is somewhat meagre, and the careless manner in which some of them were engraved adds to the difficulty of interpreting the precise meaning of certain words and sentences. The records belong to the Southern Ikhâku dynasty, who were ruling in this part of India between the second and third centuries A.D. It is clear from these inscriptions that they were kings of considerable importance, as they formed matrimonial alliances not only with the rulers of Vanavâsa (North Kanara), but also with the kings of Ujjayini in Central India. A curious fact about these Southern Ikhâkus revealed by the inscriptions, is that while the rulers were followers of Brahmanism and performed Vedic sacrifices, their consorts were devotees of the Buddha and erected buildings for the Buddhists settled at Nâgârjunakoṇḍa and made pious donations to the *stûpas*. Most of these buildings owed their existence to the piety of certain queens and princesses belonging to the royal house of Ikhâku, the principal founder being a princess named Châmtisiri, who is praised for her munificence in many of the inscriptions belonging to the Great *Stûpa*, or *Mahâchetiya*, as it is called in the pillar inscriptions belonging to it, and which was founded,

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SITE PLAN

Showing Positions of Monuments discovered at Nâgârjunakoṇḍa, Palnâd Tâluk, Guntur District.

References to Numbers

1. Great *Stûpa* No. 1
2. Chaitya No. 1 and Monastery No. 1
3. Chaitya No. 2 and Monastery No. 2
4. Chaitya Nos. 3 and 4, Monastery No. 3 and *Stûpa* No. 4
5. *Stûpa* No. 2
6. *Stûpa* No. 3
7. Monastery No. 4 and *Stûpa* No. 5
8. *Stûpa* No. 6
9. Monastery No. 5 and *Stûpa* Nos. 7 and 8
10. Palace Site
11. *Stûpa* No. 9
12. Wharf

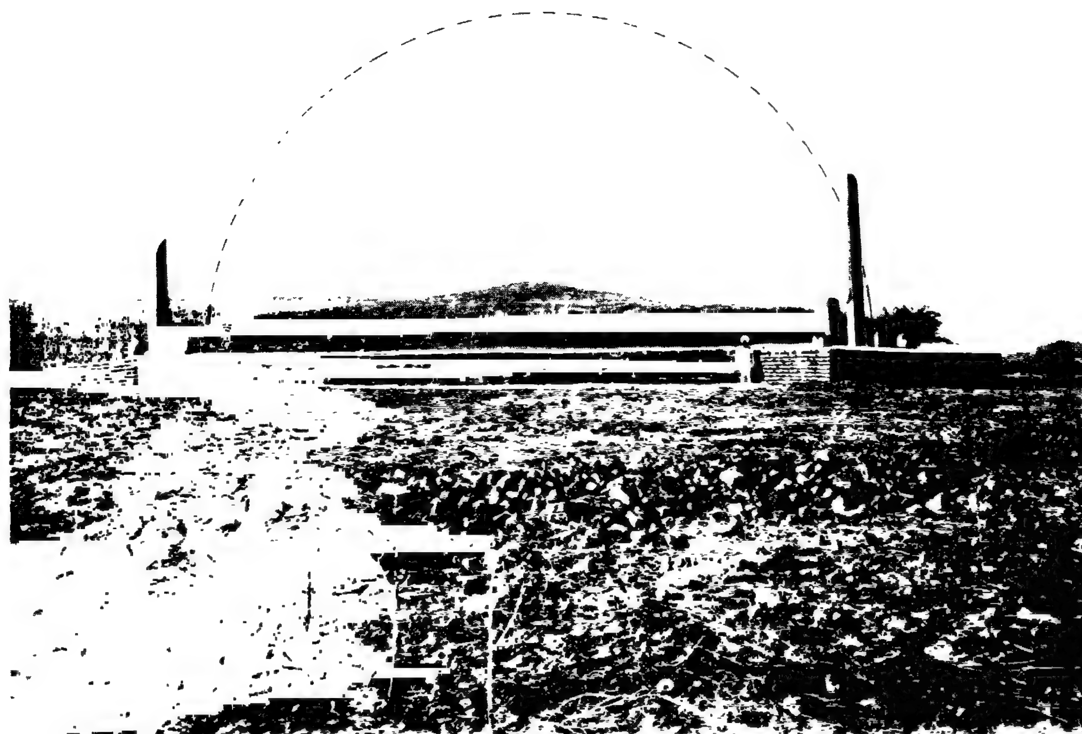


Fig. 1. The Great *Stûpa*, Nâgârjunakoṇḍa, after excavations.
(Dotted line shows original height of *Stûpa*.)

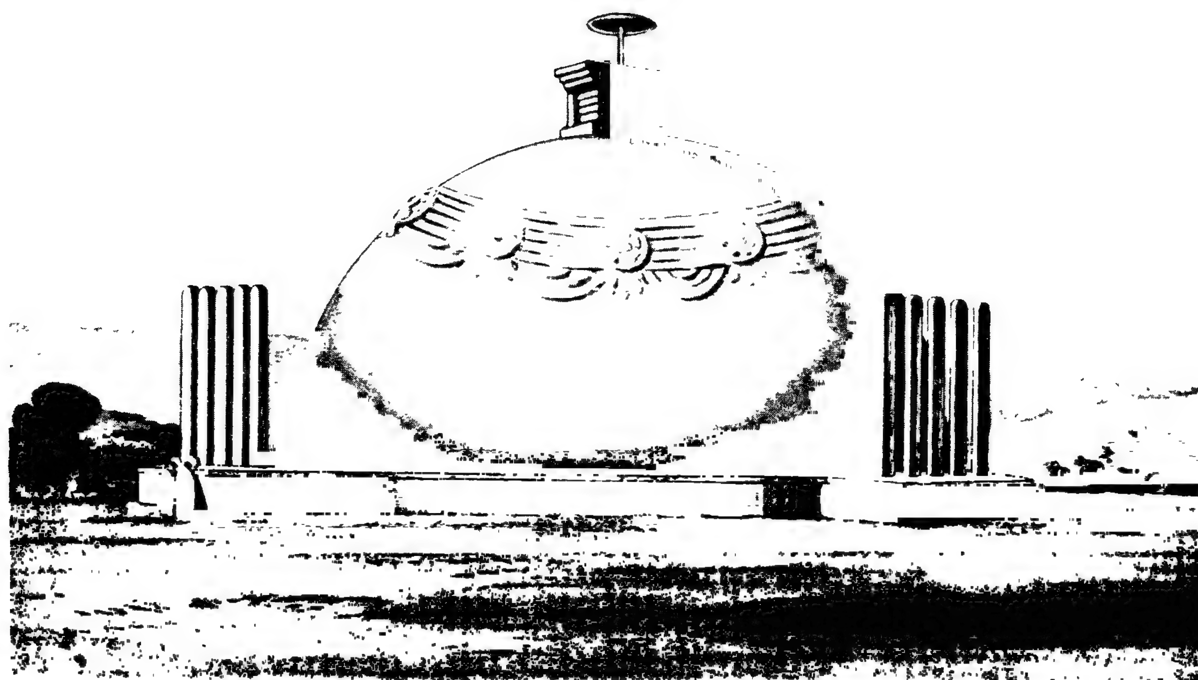


Fig. 2. The Great *Stûpa*, Nâgârjunakoṇḍa (restored).



Fig. 1. Chamber in the Great *Stûpa* at Nâgârjunakonda which contained the relics. (Find spot marked X.)

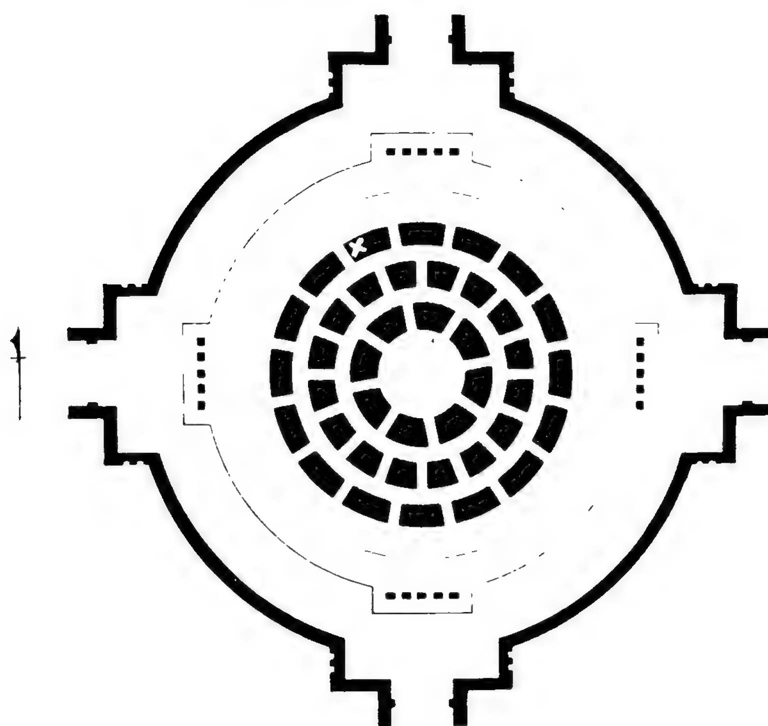


Fig. 2. Plan of the Great *Stûpa* at Nâgârjunakonda. (X marks spot where the relics were found.)



Fig. 1. Remains of the broken pot containing the relics found in the Great *Stûpa* at Nâgârjunakoṇḍa.



Fig. 2. The Buddha relics from the Great *Stûpa* at Nâgârjunakonda. The bone relic and gold reliquary are marked 1 and 2 respectively (actual size).

or perhaps rebuilt, when the pillars were added, by the lady in question in the sixth year of the reign of king Siri-Virapurisadata between the second and third centuries A.D. The same royal lady built a monastery and an apsidal temple close to the eastern gate of the Great *Stûpa*, the ruins of which remain. Another important inscription was found engraved on the stone floor of an apsidal temple situated on a rocky hill about two furlongs to the east of the Great *Stûpa*, and known locally as Nâharâḷḷabôḍu. This temple and a monastery standing alongside of it were built by a lady named Bodhisiri and dedicated to the fraternities of Ceylonese monks settled at Nâgârjunakoṇḍa. The inscription relates that these Ceylonese Buddhists had converted the people of Kashmîr, Gandhâra, China, Ceylon, Bengal, Kanara, and other places in India. The latter part of the inscription mentions other pious works by Bodhisiri, including a pillared hall or *maṇḍapa* at Kantakasela, which, as Dr. Vogel points out in his account of these inscriptions, must be identical with "the emporium Kantikossula" mentioned by Ptolemy as being situated "after the mouths of the Maisôlos (Kríshna)." The *Periplus* speaks of "the region of Masalia" stretching a long way along the coast," and adds, "a great quantity of muslins is made here." The ancient name by which the Krishna delta was known to the Greeks is preserved in that of the seaport of Masulipatam.

In the same inscription (F of Dr. Vogel's list), the name of the ancient city that once existed in the Nâgârjunakoṇḍa valley is given as Vijayapurî, and the hill now known as Nâharâḷḷabôḍu, on which Bodhisiri erected the temple and monastery for the Ceylonese monks, is called the Lesser Dhammagiri situated on Śrîparvata. The hill in question is an offshoot of the surrounding Nallamalais of the adjoining Kurnool district. These hills extend in a south-westerly direction all along the river into the Kurnool district, where, on the top of a wooded hill some 50 miles south-west of Nâgârjunakoṇḍa and facing the river, stands the famous Śrîśailam temple sacred to Śiva and a great place of pilgrimage in the spring, when a big annual festival is held there. It thus seems from this inscription that in early times the Nallamalais were known as Śrîparvata. This is an interesting point, because there is an ancient tradition preserved in Tibet that the famous Buddhist divine Nâgârjuna ended his days in a monastery on Śrîparvata in Southern India. If this monastery is the same as the ruined one on the Lesser Dhammagiri, it would follow that the association of Nâgârjuna with this locality has been preserved up to the present day in the name Nâgârjunakoṇḍa (Nâgârjuna's Hill).

The fact that a monastery and a temple were built specially for the benefit of Ceylonese monks shows that very cordial relations must have existed between the Ândhra Buddhists and their co-religionists in Ceylon at that period. The existence of such relations can be readily accounted for by the sea-borne trade which was carried on between the ports of Ceylon and the great emporium Kantakasela of the Krishna delta. It was no doubt this trade which was mainly responsible for the flourishing state of Buddhism in this part of Southern India, which enabled the Buddhist merchants and their royal masters to raise monuments of such magnificence as those at Nâgârjunakoṇḍa and Amarâvatî. As Dr. Vogel mentions, the decline of Buddhism in the lower Krishna valley may have had other causes besides the general wane of that religion all over India, there may have been economic factors at work, such as the decline of the sea-borne trade with the West, which had caused vast quantities of Roman gold to pour into Southern India. There was also the conquest of the South by the Gupta Emperor Samudra Gupta and the rise of powerful dynasties devoted to Brahmanism, like the Pallava dynasty in the South and the Châlukya in the West.

The ruined buildings discovered, represent the remains of *stûpas*, monasteries, apsidal temples and a palace. They were all built of large bricks measuring 20″×10″×3″, the same dimensions as the bricks recently found at Bulandîbâgh near Patnâ in Bihâr, the ancient site of Pâṭaliputra. It is strange that at two sites so far distant both should yield large bricks of the same dimensions. The pillars, floors, statues and important sculptures were executed

in white or grey limestone resembling marble. No other stone was used, and it was brought to the site by means of the river and landed at a stone-built wharf that still remains (see Plate I, 12). The wharf is about 250 feet in length, 50 feet wide and 6 feet in height along the river front and at both ends. Three rows of broken stone pillars extending from end to end show that it was originally provided with a wooden roof, probably thatched. It seems to have served as a kind of Customs House, with a row of shops or godowns on either side. Here, the Krishna is more than half a mile wide, with numerous sandbanks and huge rocks in its bed, but during the rains it is a very large river and navigable for country craft right down to the sea.

On plan and in construction, the Ândhra *stûpas* differ from those found in the North. They are built in the form of a wheel with hub, spokes and tire all complete and executed in brickwork (see plan of *stûpa* on Plate III). The open spaces between the radiating walls were filled up with earth, and the dome or brick casing built over the structure. As no traces of structural stone *tees* have been discovered in Southern India, we may presume that they were built of brick and plaster and decorated with the rail ornament in the latter material. The *stûpas* were covered with *chunam*, or fine shell-lime plaster, from top to bottom, and the moulding and other ornamentation was usually executed in stucco or plaster. The dome rested on a circular platform or drum from 2 to 5 feet in height according to the size of the monument. On top of the drum was a narrow path encircling the foot of the dome, and on each of the four sides, facing the cardinal points, was a rectangular platform resembling an altar and the same height as the drum. In the inscriptions these platforms are described as *ayaka*-platforms, because they usually supported a group of five stone pillars, called *ayaka-khambhas* (*ayaka*-pillars). The precise meaning of the word *ayaka* is not known, but it is used much as we use the word 'altar.' From the bas-relief representations of *stûpas* recovered from the Nâgârjunakoṇḍa and Amarâvatî *stûpas*, the *ayaka*-platform appears as an altar, on which pious donors are portrayed depositing their offerings of fruit and flowers. All Ândhra *stûpas* had these platforms, but only those belonging to large and important monuments were provided with pillars. As each group consisted of five pillars, the total number of pillars for each *stûpa* so decorated was twenty. The inscriptions show that these pillars represent gifts made to the *stûpa* in honour of the Buddha and to the merit of the pious donors who provided the money for the work; but no information is given as to the meaning or symbolism of the pillars.

The chief scenes portrayed in the sculptures recovered from these Ândhra *stûpas* represent the five great 'miracles,' or chief events in the life of the Buddha, namely, the Nativity, Renunciation, *Sambodhi*, First Sermon, and the Buddha's Death. These five incidents are portrayed over and over again, either as beautifully executed bas-relief scenes, or else as mere conventional symbols, such as a tree, wheel and *stûpa*. In this form they are found engraved on some of the bases of the *ayaka*-pillars belonging to the Amarâvatî *Stûpa* now in the Madras Museum; and I discovered at Nâgârjunakoṇḍa four bases of *ayaka*-pillars each ornamented with a bas-relief representation of the 'First Sermon.' The presence of these symbols carved on the bases of the pillars seems to indicate that they were set up to commemorate the five great miracles; just as we know Aśoka erected pillars to mark the sacred spots where these events are said to have occurred in Nepâl and Bihâr. As it was impossible for those living in the Krishna district to erect the pillars on the actual spots in Northern India, they seem to have hit upon the idea of conventionalising the pillars into groups of five for the sake of convenience, so that the events could be commemorated locally, and also, perhaps, with a view to adding to the splendour and importance of the *stûpas*, as in the case of the Amarâvatî *Stûpa*, where the stone casing to the dome, the *ayaka*-platforms and pillars, and the stone railing, were all added to the monument in the second or third century A.D. This we know from the inscriptions belonging to that monument. In earlier times the *ayaka*-pillars were unknown, and they only occur in the Ândhra *stûpas* of that period.

The platforms and pillars vary in size and height according to the dimensions of the *stûpa* to which they belong. The pillars vary from 10 to 30 feet in height, with square bases and octagonal shafts. The tops are round, showing that they could not have supported capitals or any other kind of ornaments. In some of the bas-relief pictures of *stûpas*, the pillars are shown crowned with *triśûla* ornaments, the centre pillar often with a miniature *stûpa* as a capital. This is incorrect and purely decorative, as they never supported anything and could not do so as the tops were round, so that any ornament placed there would fall immediately to the ground. In this case the ornaments merely indicate that the pillars were dedicated to the Buddha, and the inscriptions confirm this.

In the sculptures two kinds of *stûpas* are depicted—one a plain brick and plaster structure like the *stûpas* of the Aśokan age; and the other is similar in all respects, except that the brick surface is faced with richly carved stone slabs embedded in mortar. This stone casing was applied only to the face of the drum, *ayaka*-platforms and lower portion of the dome. The upper portion of the domes of all Ândhra *stûpas* was executed in brick and plaster and decorated with a characteristic garland ornament encircling the dome. This ornament always appears in the bas-relief representations of *stûpas*, and is in the form of a broad festoon decorated with big lotus medallions executed in plaster.

The stone casing was applied only to the base of the dome, as it is obvious that flat stone slabs could not be fixed to the curved surface of the upper portion of the dome. In order to do this, each stone would have to be specially cut with a convex front and a concave back, and even then it would be very difficult to keep the stones in position, so this part of the *stûpas* was always in plaster. These decorated *stûpas* were faced partly with stone slabs and partly with plaster ornamentation, the two materials being used together, and when the work was completed the *stûpa* was given a coating of shell-lime plaster from top to bottom, to hide any defects or inequalities in the work. For this purpose, the white limestone used for this work was specially suitable, as it was of the right colour and takes whitewash or plaster readily, being very absorbent. It was no doubt these considerations and the fact that it is soft and easy to work when freshly quarried, that led to its general use in the Krishna valley. From the remains of slate-stone bas-reliefs and plaster ornament recovered from the ruined *stûpas* of Gandhâra, it seems that they were decorated in the same manner as those erected by the Ândhras. The inscriptions show that there was considerable intercourse between the Buddhists of Gandhâra and their co-religionists in the South, and in all probability the Ândhras adopted the custom from the Gandhâra builders in the second century A.D., or thereabouts. Gandhâra influence is also strongly marked in many of the Ândhra bas-reliefs and statues in the round. Traces of Roman influence are also manifest in a few of the sculptures and in two small gold medallions recovered from Nâgârjunakoṇḍa. This is not surprising, as we know that in the second and third centuries of our era there was considerable sea-borne trade between Rome and this part of Southern India.

When complete, the Great *Stûpa* at Nâgârjunakoṇḍa must have been a perfect example of a plain Ândhra *stûpa* (Plate II, fig. 2). It is built of large bricks measuring 20″×10″×3″, and in the usual form of a wheel (Plate III, fig. 2). It was covered with plaster from top to bottom, the dome being decorated with the usual garland ornament, and the drum with a few simple mouldings executed in plaster. No stone was used in its construction, the *ayaka*-pillars alone being of that material, and, as at Amarâvatî, they probably represent a later addition to the *stûpa*. They were gifts, as their inscriptions show, and were erected between the second and third centuries A.D. The diameter of the *stûpa* including the drum is 106 feet. The drum is raised 5 feet above the ground level, and the total height of the monument, excluding the *tee*, must have been about 70 to 80 feet. On top of the drum is a narrow path, 7 feet wide, extending all round the base of the dome. No traces of steps

up to this path were found, but it is possible that they may have existed. No steps are depicted in the bas-relief representations of *stûpas*, so perhaps there were none to any of these monuments. The *ayaka*-platforms are 22 feet in length and 5 feet in width, and the bases of the five stone pillars were securely built into the brickwork. In the stone-faced *stûpas*, the *ayaka*-platforms were the most highly decorated features of the *stûpa*. Here the Ândhra sculptor exhibited his best works of art, partly because these platforms were regarded as very holy structures resembling altars on which votive offerings were placed, and mainly perhaps, because they faced the four open gateways of the *stûpa*, so that they were the first objects seen by anyone entering the sacred precinct around the *stûpa*. The *stûpa* was surrounded by a processional path 13 feet in width, and enclosed by a wooden railing standing on brick foundations, which still remain. The gateways were formed by extending the railing outwards, so as to form a screen on each side of the entrance, but there were apparently no transoms spanning the entrance, like those of the Sâñchî *toraṇas*. No traces of stone rails or *toraṇas* were found at Nâgârjunakoṇḍa, and it is quite clear that none existed there.

As a rule, the rails and gates were constructed of carved woodwork, no doubt resting on brick foundations, to protect them from damp and the ravages of white ants. It was only in very special cases that they were ever executed in stone, and then they were merely stone models of carved wooden originals.

When first discovered, the Great *Stûpa* at Nâgârjunakoṇḍa was a large mound of earth and broken brick overgrown with grass and jungle, with two *ayaka*-pillars standing erect, the remaining eighteen pillars having fallen. As the whole of the dome of the *stûpa* had been demolished, the *ayaka*-pillars and platforms thrown down and broken by treasure seekers, the chances of finding any relics in the edifice appeared very remote indeed. The first thing was to remove the debris and trace out the plan of the structure and recover the broken pillars. When this work was finished and the excavations completed, the appearance of the Great *Stûpa* may be gathered from Plate II, fig. 1.

Fortunately, instead of placing the relics in the centre of the Great *Stûpa*, they were deposited in one of the outer chambers on the north-western side of the *stûpa*, where they escaped the notice of the treasure seekers who wrecked the monument (Plate III, fig. 1). As the *stûpa* contained 40 chambers, all of which had to be excavated down to the natural ground level, the excavation of this monument was a very laborious task that took a month to complete. At last, when we had given up all hopes of finding anything of interest, one of the coolies noticed a small broken pot in the north-western corner of the chamber marked with a cross on the plan (Plate III, fig. 2). The pot had been crushed when the chamber was filled with earth by the Buddhists, and all that remained is shown in Plate IV, fig. 1. On the surface were a few white crystal beads and a tiny gold box. After carefully sifting the contents of the pot the following objects were found :—a fragment of bone placed in a small round gold reliquary three-quarters of an inch in diameter. This was placed in a little silver casket, shaped like a miniature *stûpa*, 2½ inches in height, together with a few gold flowers, pearls, garnets and crystals. The three large crystal beads and the round ear-ornament were placed in the pot and not in the casket. The latter unfortunately was very corroded and broken, but a replica was made, which appears in the photograph showing the finds recovered from the tomb (Plate IV, fig. 2). The earthenware pot containing the casket and reliquary was placed originally in the corner of the chamber, which was filled up with earth as soon as the consecration ceremony was over. The brick dome was then built over the remains, and the plastering and decoration of the *stûpa* completed. No traces of ornamental plaster were found in the debris round the monument, except portions of simple mouldings that once decorated the plinth and cornice of the drum. It must have been a perfectly plain structure like those of the Aśokan age before the *ayaka*-pillars were added in the second century A.D. (Plate II, fig. 2).

In the inscriptions belonging to the Great *Stûpa*, the monument is called the "*Mahâchetiya* of the Lord, the Supreme Buddha," clearly showing that the tomb was consecrated to the Great Teacher and to nobody else. The discovery of the *dhâtu*, or bone relic, proves that the monument was a *dhâtugarbha*, or 'tomb containing a relic,' and that it was not a mere 'dedicatory' *stûpa*. The latter were memorial *stûpas*, which contained no relics, and, like Aśoka's pillars, were erected on celebrated sites sacred to the Buddha, such as his birthplace, and so on. It is, therefore, obvious that the Great *Stûpa* did not belong to this class of memorial monument. The inscriptions do not definitely state why the *stûpa* was built; they merely state that the *ayaka*-pillars were dedicated to the Buddha, and that they were set up by the princess Châmtisiri and other royal ladies of the same house. Supposing the *stûpa* to have been already in existence prior to the erection of the pillars, it would have been necessary first to enlarge the drum and build the *ayaka*-platforms to accommodate the pillars, and then replaster and decorate the *stûpa* from top to bottom to complete the work. In fact, it would have meant rebuilding the whole of the exterior of the monument. Dr. Vogel is of opinion that the inscriptions show that the *Mahâchetiya* was "founded" by Châmtisiri, but it is by no means clear whether she built, rebuilt, or merely contributed to the structure. If she did build the *stûpa*, then it was she who enshrined the relic found in the chamber; but it is impossible to believe that so great an event as this could have occurred without the fact being recorded in at least one of the many inscriptions referring to the *stûpa*. We know that the monument was consecrated to the Buddha, as the inscriptions are quite clear on this point. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the relic recovered from the tomb represents a *dhâtu*, or corporeal relic of the Great Teacher, otherwise there could be no possible reason for calling the tomb the "*Mahâchetiya* of the Lord, the Supreme Buddha." That the *Mahâchetiya* was regarded as a particularly holy shrine is obvious from the tone and wording of the inscriptions found at the site. Again, the size of the tomb, the number of pious donations made by ladies of royal blood, and the fact that pilgrims came from all over India and Ceylon to reverence it, afford testimony of this.

Unfortunately, the meaning of some of the words and phrases met with in the inscriptions is very obscure. Commenting upon this, Dr. Vogel says—"A considerable difficulty in the way of interpreting the Nâgârjunikoṇḍa inscriptions is the want of precision of which they show ample evidence. Considering that these inscriptions were meant to be perpetual records of pious donations made by ladies of royal blood, the careless manner in which they have been recorded is astonishing. Not only single syllables but whole words have been omitted." Dr. Hîrânanda Sâstrî, Epigraphist to the Government of India, who has also made a study of these inscriptions, found the same difficulty, and, as might be expected in the circumstances, his interpretation of the precise meaning of certain words differs from Dr. Vogel's. The records belonging to the *Mahâchetiya* open with an invocation to the Buddha, who is extolled in a long string of laudatory epithets. Dr. Hîrânanda Sâstrî is of opinion that the style and wording of the invocation shows that the *Mahâchetiya* has been specified in these inscriptions as "protected by the corporeal remains of the Buddha" and that the genitive case is used here to discriminate this *stûpa* from others not similarly consecrated. Nine ruined *stûpas* were discovered at Nâgârjunakoṇḍa, four of them highly decorated with stone bas-reliefs similar to those recovered from Amarâvatî, but the *Mahâchetiya* is the only one bearing inscriptions indicating that it was consecrated to the Buddha.

The discovery of the relic and the fact that inscription B. 2 of Dr. Vogel's List, definitely gives the name of the monument as the *Mahâchetiya* of the Buddha, seem conclusive evidence that the monument was originally built to enshrine some corporeal remains of the Buddha, as Dr. Hîrânanda Sâstrî maintains. The *stûpa* was probably built long before Châmtisiri set up the pillars and rebuilt the structure in the second century A.D., or thereabouts, which

would explain why the inscriptions give no information about the consecration or how the relic was obtained. If the *Mahâchetiya* did exist prior to the second century A.D., the fact that it contained corporeal remains of the Great Teacher would have been known throughout India and Ceylon, thus making it unnecessary to record this information in inscriptions added to the monument in later times.

We know from the inscriptions recovered from Sâñchî, Sârnâth and Amarâvatî that the great *stûpas* that existed at these three famous sites were all rebuilt in later times. These inscriptions give the names of some of the pious donors who found the money for the additions to these monuments, but, like the Nâgârjunakoṇḍa inscriptions, they give no information concerning the purpose for which the *stûpas* were built, or when they were erected, just the very points which we should so much like to know. The Amarâvatî inscriptions show that the stone casing, *ayaka*-pillars and stone railing were added to the Great *Stûpa* at that place in the second or third century A.D., that is, at the same period as that in which Châmtisiri set up the pillars and rebuilt the *Mahâchetiya* at Nâgârjunakoṇḍa. Originally, the Amarâvatî *Stûpa* seems to have been a plain brick and plaster *stûpa* similar to the *Mahâchetiya*, and it must have been a particularly holy shrine, else it would never have been enlarged and decorated in so costly a fashion. Perhaps when Châmtisiri learned what was taking place at Amarâvatî, she felt it incumbent upon herself, as the leading devotee of the Buddha at Nâgârjunakoṇḍa, to redecorate and improve the *Mahâchetiya*.

Personally, like Dr. Hîrânanda Sâstrî, I do not think there can be any doubt that the *Mahâchetiya* was originally built to enshrine some corporeal remains of the Buddha, and that the fragment of bone found in the gold reliquary represents a genuine *dhâtu*, or relic, of the Great Teacher. There is no reason why such a relic could not have been obtained from Northern India long before the days of Châmtisiri.

THE HISTORY OF THE PARAMÂRA MAHÂKUMÂRAS.

BY D. C. GANGULY.

THE Paramâras of Mâlwâ rose to the highest pitch of their glory during the reign of Bhoja (*circa* 1000-1055 A.D.). Bhoja was succeeded by Jayasiṃha, Udayâditya, Lakṣmadeva, Naravarman (1094-1133 A.D.) and Yaśovarman (1134 A.D.). During the reign of Naravarman the long protracted war between the Caulukyas of Gujarât and the Paramâras broke out. This finally resulted into the overthrow of the Paramâra government in Mâlwâ during the reign of Yaśovarman. Jayavarman, the son of Yaśovarman, succeeded in regaining his ancestral throne sometime between 1138 and 1144 A.D. But shortly afterwards he was overthrown by Ballâla, apparently a scion of the Hoysala family of Dvârasamudra and the leader of the Caulukya army of Karṇâṭa. Ballâla, within a very short time after this victory, met his death at the hand of the Caulukya Kumârapâla of Gujarât, who thereafter brought the whole of Mâlwâ under his suzerainty.

Kumârapâla, after the annexation of Mâlwâ, turned his attention to its internal administration. He seems to have divided the country into a number of provinces, which he administered through his governors. The charge of the eastern division was entrusted to the Mahâsâdhanika Râjyapâla, whose headquarter was Udayapur in Bhilasa.[1] In 1163 A.D., when this chief was in office, a certain personage named Vasantapâla made some donations for the maintenance [2] of the temple of Udaleśvara at the town of Udayapur. Kumârapâla died in 1172 A.D., and was succeeded by Ajayapâla (1172-1176 A.D.). During his reign

[1] *I.A.*, vol. XVIII. p. 343.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 342-43.

Lûṇapâsaka was in charge of the government of this province.[3] In 1172 A.D., Lûṇapâsaka, for the spiritual benefit of his father, granted the village of Umaratha, situated in the Pathaka known as Bhṛṃgârikâ-Catuḥṣaṣṭi, in favour of the god Vaidyanâtha, at Udayapur.[4] Here the record describes Udayapur as being situated in the province (*maṇḍala*) of Bhâillasvâmi-mahâdvâdaśaka (modern Bhilsa). This settles the eastern limit of the kingdom over which the Caulukyas asserted their supremacy in the third quarter of the twelfth century A.D. During this period, though the Imperial dynasty of the Paramâras was lost in obscurity, some of its junior branches continued to rule over the old Paramâra kingdom south of the Vindhya mountains. Their ruling chiefs assumed the titles *Samadhigata pañca-mahâ-śabd-âlaṃkâra-virâjamâna-mahâkumâra.*[5] This means that they were great princes who attained the five *mahâ-śabdas*. The following are the sources of evidence from which we may reconstruct their history :—

A. The copper-plate grant of the Mahârâja Yaśovarmadeva,[6] dated V.S. 1192=1135 A.D.

B. The copper-plate grant of the Mahârâjâdhirâja, Jayavarmadeva.[7] The genealogy given is—

P.M.P. Udayâditya.
|
P.M.P. Naravarman.
|
P.M.P. Yaśovarman.
|
P.M.P. Jayavarman.

C. The copper-plate grant of the Mahâkumâra Lakṣmîvarmadeva,[8] dated V.S. 1200=1144 A.D. The kings mentioned are—

P.M.P. Udayâditya.
|
P.M.P. Naravarman.
|
P.M.P. Yaśovarman.
|
Mahâkumâra Lakṣmîvarman.

Here the name of Jayavarman is omitted.

D. The Pipliânagar grant[9] of the Mahâkumâra Hariścandra, dated V.S. 1235=1178 A.D. In this the genealogy is given thus—

P. M. P. Udayâditya.
|
P. M. P. Naravarman.
|
P. M. P. Yaśovarman.
|
P. M. P. Jayavarman.
|
Mahâkumâra Hariścandra, son of Lakṣmîvarman.

Hariścandra is mentioned in the record as having obtained his territory through

3 *Ibid.*, p. 347.
4 *Ibid.*
5 *I.A.*, vol. XIX, p. 352.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 348.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 349.
8 *Ibid.*, p. 351.
9 *JASB.*, vol. VII, p. 736.

the favour of Jayavarman.[10] Lakṣmîvarman does not appear in it among the succeeding rulers. He is merely referred to in the concluding line of the inscription as the father of Hariścandra.

E. The Bhopal grant of the Mahâkumâra Udayavarmadeva,[11] dated V.S. 1256=1199 A.D. The kings referred to are—

P.M.P. Yaśovarman.
|
P.M.P. Jayavarman.
|
Mahâkumâra Lakṣmîvarman.
|
Mahâkumâra Udayavarman.

It is stated that after the conclusion of the reign of Jayavarman, Lakṣmîvarman obtained the sovereignty for himself by force of arms.[12] He was succeeded by Hariścandra's son Udayavarman. Hariścandra is not mentioned here as a successor of Lakṣmîvarman, but merely as the father of Udayavarman.

F. The inscription of Arjunavarman, king of Dhârâ, dated 1210, 1213, 1215 A.D.[13] The pedigree is given thus—

Bhoja.
|
Udayâditya.
|
Naravarman.
|
Yaśovarman.
|
Ajayavarman.
|
Vindhyavarman.
|
Subhaṭavarman.
|
Arjunavarman.

Here Yaśovarman's successor is given as Ajayavarman, and not as Jayavarman.

G. The Mandhata plate of Devapâla,[14] dated V.S. 1282=1225 A.D. The genealogy given here is the same as that in A., with the additional information that Arjunavarman was succeeded by Devapâla, the son of Hariścandra. In his Harsauda grant[15] Devapâla assumes the title *Samadhigata-pañca-mahâ-śabda*, which connects him with the Mahâkumâra family. Hence there can be no doubt that his father Hariścandra was the same person as the son of Lakṣmîvarman.

(*To be continued.*)

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[10] ...*Śrî-Yaśovarmmadeva-pâdânudhyâta-parama-bhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-parameśvara-śrî-Jayavarmmadeva ity etasmât pṛṣṭhatama-prabhoḥ prasâdâd âvâpta-nijâdhipatyah samasta-prasastopeta-samadhigata-pañca-mahâ-śabdâlaṃkâra-virâjamâna-mahâ-kumâra-Śrî-Hariścandra-devaḥ........iti. sva-hasto 'yam-mahâkumâra-Śrî-Lakṣmîvarmadeva-suta-mahâkumâra-Śrî-Hariścandra-deva-Paramâra-kula-kamala-kamala bandhoḥ* (*JASB.*, vol. VII pp. 737, 739.)

[11] *I.A.*, vol. XVI, p. 252.

[12] ...*Jayavarmadeva-râjye vyatite nija-kara-kṛta-karavâla prasâdâvâpta-nij-âdhipatya-samasta-praśastopeta-samadhigata-pañca-mahâ-śavd(bd)âla(ṃ)kâra-virâjamâna-mahâkumâra-śrîmal-Lakṣmîvarmmadeva-pâdânuhyâta–samasta–praśastopeta–samadhigata–pañca–mahâ–śavd(bd)âlaṃkâra–virâjam(â)na–mahâkumâra–Śrî–Hariścandra-deva-suta-Śrîmad Udayavarmadevo vijay-odayî.* (*I.A.*, vol. XVI, p. 254.)

[13] *JAOS.*, vol. VII, pp. 25, 32 ; *JASB.*, vol. V, p. 378.

[14] *E.I.*, vol. IX, p. 108.

[15] *I.A.*, vol. XX, p. 310.

NOTE ON THE CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE WYNAD.

BY F. J. RICHARDS, M.A., I.C.S. (*Retired.*)

(*Continued from page 174.*)

So too the *Pathiyans* (fig. 4) and *Uridavans* of the E. Wynad are immigrant communities; the Pathiyans come from Punnâd in the S.E. sector of the Mysore Basin, the Uridavans from Chitaldrug.[26]

Of other tribes mentioned, the *Tachanâd Muppans* [27] of the S.E. quadrant of the W. Wynad are definitely associated with the Nîlambûr valley of S. Malabar; the *Urâli Kurumbars*,[28] like the Kôtas of the Nilgiris, are artisans for all the tribes of the Wynad; while the *Kanaladis*,[29] who are professional fire-walkers, can hardly be called a community, as they number only some six families and have to indent on Pathiyans, Mullu-Kurumbars and Chettis for their wives.

The Nâyars, Brahmans, Jains and Muhammadans of the Wynad do not differ from their kinsmen in the plains. It is worth noting that even the East Coast Muhammadans of the W. Wynad hail from Pâlghâṭ in Malabar.[30]

Language and tradition are not the only evidence of Malabar influence. The "forelock" for instance, the outward symbol of Malayâlî grace, is worn by almost all Wynad manhood except the jungle folk, whose hair is usually a tousled mop. But the Uridavans and Edanâdan Chettis, who hail from Mysore, wear the "back tuft" like Mysoreans, while the Mandâdan and Wynâdan Chettis say they used to do so, and the Pathiyan at weddings dishevels his forelock to make it look as like a back tuft as he can.

So too in dress; the white cotton of Malabar is the rule for both sexes; even the conservative Edanâdan Chettis have adopted this. The draping, too, is that of Malabar; the long, coloured, feminine swathings of Tamil, Telugu or Kanarese are rarely seen. But in this again the Pathiyans, and also, the Wynâdan Chettis, at weddings revert to the fashions of their Kanarese forebears.

The chivalrous courting and mating of Malabar have attractions which foreigners can seldom resist. The reaction of the immigrant Chettis to the Malabar system is interesting. The Wynâdan Chettis (of Tamil origin) are the most "malayâlized." They have access to caste temples and do not pollute a Nâyar by touch. They have adopted Malayâlî *sambandham* (marriage by consent), even in a matrilocal form, though a patrilocal type, with certain Tamil rites, is also permitted; and their inheritance is matrilineal. The Kanarese Mandâdan and Edanâdan Chettis remain patrilineal, and retain the normal "purchase" system[31] of marriage, but the Edanâdans also recognise a form of *sambandham*.[32] The Pathiyans, on the other hand, have adopted matrilineal succession, but combine full Kanarese ceremonial with a *tâli-kaṭṭu* wedding of Malabar type.[33] The Uridavans, most conservative of all, are patrilineal.

Kuricchans, Kunduvatiyans, Karimbâlans and Kâdars, consistently with their Malayâli origin, are matrilineal; so, too, are the Pulayans, though they pay a bride-price. On the other hand, the Mullu-Kurumbars, in spite of their conspicuous conformity with Malabar

26 Nair, pp. 82 and 85.

27 Nair, pp. 89 *sq*.

28 Nair, pp. 71 *sq*.

29 Nair (p. 95) surmises that they are Malayans from Malabar, presumably those of N. Malabar described in Thurston, IV, 436.

30 Nair, p. 53, and *Malabar Gazetteer*, 447.

31 Characterized by the payment of a bride-price, or, in lieu thereof, by service.

32 So Mr. Gopalan Nair (p. 54 A), as a *second* marriage, with reduced "price"; not unlike the normal re-marriage of Kanarese castes, but children have no right in their father's property.

33 Nair, p. 83. For *tâli-kaṭṭu* rites see *Malabar Gazetteer*, 177.

customs, retain patrilineal succession and the bride-price, as befits the scions of the pre-Kôttayam rulers of the Wynad. So, too, do the Paniyars[34] and Urâli Kurumbars; like other pre-Dravidian communities in S. India.

The land tenure of the Wynad is also modelled on that of Malabar, the perplexing privileges of overlordship (*janmam*), which distinguish Malabar from the rest of S. India, being recognized by the Madras Government, and even extended to non-Malayâlî proprietors who had no shadow of right to them.[35]

Of Wynad cults and shrines little of value is known. The Tirunelli temple is served by Embrândiri Brahmans of Gokarnam in N. Kanara, and managed by Mûssads[36] of Malabar. The riverside Vallûr-Kâvu, near Manantoddy, with its sacred carp, traces its origin to Cranganore, in Cochin State.[37] The Mani-Kunnu shrine (near Kalpatta in S. Wynad) is served by a Nambûdri of Calicut.[38]

There is, however, reason to believe that these cults, in their present form, have been superimposed on something older. The Tirunelli shrine, for instance, is sacred to Vishṇu; and it was so in the days of Bhâskara Ravivarman. But one of his grants imposes penalties on any local chief who may thereafter offer sacrifice without employing Brahman priests. This implies that at one time the cult was not Brahmanic. Moreover, not far from the Vishṇu temple is a small cave temple, sacred to Śiva, of very archaic type, which suggests a Jain or Buddhist origin and to which local tradition assigns a far older date.[39] At Vallûr-Kâvu, again at the annual festival, the Paniyars are allowed liberties which they dare not take in ordinary life; they are free to jostle people of all castes and, it is said, they are the first to be fed from the boiled rice offerings.

In social matters Brahman influence seems notably rare. Only the Chettis are reported as employing Brahmans in domestic ceremonies; in the case of the Edanâdans the officiant is a Vaishnava Brahman of S. Mysore. The Uridavans and Tên Kurumbars[40] appear to be under the spiritual authority of Vîra-Saivas, the Pathiyans[41] under Jains.

The other communities are governed by headmen or councils of their kinsmen, the appointment being controlled with some by election with others by heredity, while the tribal officers of Paniyan and Adiyân serfs are nominated by their Malayâlî overlord. The council of the Wynadan Chettis consists of the heads of five families, each representing a definite territorial area under an arrangement prescribed by the Kôttayam Râja.

IV. *Conclusion.*

It is difficult to conceive that a tract so derelict as the Wynad was once a centre of thriving civilization. Cession to the British brought no luck. The 'Pytchy' Raja again rebelled and was not brought to book till 1805. Another rebellion followed in 1812, when his ex-retainers, the virile Kuricchans and Kurumbars, were required to pay revenue in cash instead of in kind. Then in the forties came the coffee boom, and the Wynad, for a time, enjoyed prosperity. But within a generation blight, bug, and borer broke it, and thousands of coffee estates relapsed to jungle. The gold boom of the eighties fared even worse. Parts of the Wynad are thick with ancient workings and in 1880 an effort was made to revive this industry.

[34] On this point Mr. Gopalan Nair has slipped (p. 101). The *Nîlgiri Gazetteer* (p. 160) says they are patrilineal and Mr. Cammiade has no hesitation in confirming this.

[35] See *Nîlgiri Gazetteer*, p. 280.

[36] Temple servants of quasi-Brahmanic status; *Malabar Gazetteer*, p. 108. Cf. Nair, pp. 115 *sq.*

[37] Nair, p. 123.

[38] Nair, p. 132.

[39] So Mr. Cammiade, who adds that the Malayâlîs claim Tirunelli as the true source of the sacred Cauvery, while the Mysoreans locate the true source in Coorg.

[40] Nair, p. 87, Thurston, IV, 161.

[41] Nair, p. 85.

But Wynad ore is capricious in distribution and intractable; speculators did their worst; and nothing is left of the venture but ruined bungalows, a jungle-choked race-course, and tons of rusting machinery that was never set up.[42] Perhaps tea-planting may yet retrieve the long record of civilization's failure.[43]

Yet the Wynad abounds in relics of ancient cultures, some of them historic, such as sculptures, caves, shrines and inscriptions associated with Jainism, Buddhism (perhaps) and orthodox Hinduism; others, e.g., dolmens, menhirs, stone circles, etc., which for want of knowledge are called 'prehistoric.' The urn-burials brought to notice by Mr. Cammiade[44] suggest that the Wynad was formerly more attractive and better populated than it is now. Marooned communities, such as the Chettis, imply the same. Whence came the ancient cultures?

The probabilities are obvious on the evidence cited. The ubiquity of Malayâlî influence, and the depth of its penetration in this section of the Deccan Plateau are almost startling. Equally so is the failure of Kanarese culture to hold its own. Clearly the belt of bamboo jungle along the Mysore frontier is a greater obstacle to human intercourse than the perils of the passes to the plains. Tiger and wild elephant are minor evils; they offer no serious barrier to man's advance. But the *Anopheles* mosquito is quite another matter. Thousands of square miles along the fringes of the Deccan Plateau have been depopulated by the deadly malaria it conveys, and the malaria of the bamboo belt is of the deadliest kind. How long the process of extermination has been going on is not known. East of the Nilgiris it is certain that large areas have been depopulated since the eighteenth century; but in the Wynad there is little hint of any close and enduring contact with the cultures of Mysore. Probability is not proof, and the evidence has not yet been properly examined. Perhaps the key to Wynad 'pre-history' is to be found in the monuments that litter the plains of Malabar. It is a scientific tragedy that the antiquities[45] of Malabar and the Wynad have failed to interest the Archæological Survey, for 'civilization' is fast breaking them up for road metal.

THE NÂT-HLÂUNG TEMPLE AND ITS GODS (PAGAN, BURMA).

BY NIHAR-RANJAN RAY, M.A.

(*Continued from page 179.*)

Of the two badly defaced images referred to above, one is most probably a representation of the Vâmana or Trivikrama, and the other of the Kalki *avatâra* of Viṣṇu. The former (fig. 10), of which little but the stone mass with its outline remains, may be described as standing in a *tribhaṅga* pose on a pedestal which is undoubtedly the remains of a full-blown lotus flower. The right leg is bent almost at right angles at the knee-joint, and the left is placed firmly on the ground. The god seems to have only two hands, of which the right holds the *kamaṇḍalu* and a staff-like object on which the god seems to lean. Neither the attribute in the left hand nor the hand itself can be distinguished. The dress seems to have consisted of a loin-cloth and a waist-girdle, the knot of which is noticeable on the side of the left hip. But the attribute that gives the clue to the identification of the image as Vâmana or Trivikrama is the *kamaṇḍalu* referred to above, and the tuft of hair tied up in a knot that is seen on the head. For, the canons (e.g., the *Vaikhânasâgama*) would lay down that a Trivikrama image should be represented as having two arms, "one of which should carry a *kamaṇḍalu*, and the other an umbrella. On the crown of the head there should be a tuft of hair tied

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42 *Nilgiri Gazetteer*, pp. 13-18.

43 Even in the planting industry the separateness of the N. and S. Wynad asserts itself. The coffee planters had two headquarters, at Manantoddy for the north, and at Vayattiri for the south; the tea planters have two centres, at Manantoddy and, for the south, Mêppâdi.

44 See *Man*, 1930, No. 135, and the sites marked (1), (2), (3) and (4) in fig. 3.

45 See the long catalogue in Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, 1, 241-253.

up in a knot; and there should also be a pair of *kuṇḍalas* in the ears, a deer-skin worn in the *upavîta* fashion, the sacred thread, a waist-zone and a *kaupîna* . . . . He should also carry with him a book. All these are intended to show that the image is that of a Vedic student or Brâhmanical *brahmachârin*." Some authorities hold that the image should be represented as a deformed dwarf, and they, therefore, require that " the image should be worked in the form of an ill-shaped man with hunchback, protruding joints of bones and a big belly."[13] The image under consideration, deformed and dwarfish as it is, seems roughly to agree with the latter description.

The other one, we have already surmised, is Kalki (fig. 11). It can be described as a standing image with two hands, holding in the right a *khaḍga*, and in the left an attribute that can be distinguished. It has the usual head-dress, heavy ornaments, and a loin-cloth folds of which can easily be distinguished. According to the *Agni-purâṇa*, Kalki should ride on a horse and carry the *dhanus* and the *bâṇa*, but the *Vaikhânasâgama* states that he should have the face of a horse and the body of a man with four hands carrying respectively the *saṃkha*, the *chakra*, the *khaḍga* and the *kheṭaka*. But, in the present example the image neither rides a horse nor has the face of a horse. The only attribute that is distinguishable in one of the two hands, and on the strength of which we make the identification, is the *khaḍga*. It is not impossible that the left hand carried a *kheṭaka* or shield. And once we have made sure of our identifications of six of the *avatâras* of Viṣṇu—namely, Buddha, Varâha, Narasiṃha, Râmachandra, Paraśurâma and the Trivikrama, and when the present one is not any of the remaining three *avatâras*, namely, Matsya, Kûrma or Kṛṣṇa, we are led by a process of elimination to identify the present icon as the Kalki *avatâra* of Viṣṇu, and assert, in the same breath, that the three niches that are now empty once sheltered the images of the Matsya, Kûrma and Kṛṣṇa *avatâras* of Viṣṇu, the most important god of the Hindu Triad.

III. Art and Historical Background.

The Nât-hlâung images belong undoubtedly to the late medieval period. It is also evident that they were executed by Indian artists, probably imported for this purpose. We have already discussed the South Indian Tamil inscription palæographically dated in the thirteenth century A.D. We have tried in that connection to show that the epigraph refers not to the erection of the temple itself, but to a *maṇḍapa* and a door, which might well have been added later on. The temple cannot, in our opinion, if we are to judge by the sculptures in its niches as well as by the architectural style, date later than the middle of the eleventh century A.D.

In view of the fact that a Tamil inscription has been discovered in the debris of the temple purporting to say that the temple had been founded and resorted to by Vaiṣṇavas from various parts of the Peninsula, and that the iconography of some of the images (e.g., the *Sûrya*) are distinctly South Indian, it is only natural to jump at the conclusion that the *Nât-hlâung* images owe their artistic inspiration to a contemporary South Indian school of art. Had it been so our problem would have been as easy as one could expect in such circumstances. Unfortunately, such an assumption is not borne out by a careful consideration of the sculptures themselves.

The images are all very badly mutilated, and it is difficult to make a systematic survey of each individual image ; but the general features and characteristics are easily recognisable from what remains of some of them. The forms and attitudes are mostly conventional, nor

[13] T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, vol. I, Part I, pp. 163-64.

have they any claim to any artistic originality; but they have features that are unmistakable echoes of a well-known school of art. The hard but lively modelling of the body, the regular lines that control the slim arms and legs and the gradual attenuating curve from the chest to the waist and then broadening itself again on the hips at once turn our eyes and attention to the large number of sculptures of the Eastern school of sculpture of the Pâla and Sena periods, extending from the ninth to the twelfth centuries A.D. Our surprise increases all the more when we consider the anatomy of the body as well as the physiognomy of the face, and discover their close affinity with the art of the particular school referred to. They have all slim but well-proportioned arms and legs, a broad chest that gradually merges in an attenuated waist, and a pair of well-balanced hips. The ornaments and dress, too, are strikingly similar, and it is particularly noticeable in the heavy ear-rings, armlets and wristlets, and finally in the fluttering scarves over the two shoulders, a feature familiar to Brâhmanical and Bodhisattva images of the Eastern school. But we become almost sure of our assumption when we notice the close affinity of their facial treatment. It is roundish with a pointed chin and the two lips, of which the lower one is modelled in a slightly rounded curve, are drawn downwards to give a smile of bliss and contentment. Above, a not very sharp nose, and two faintly modelled curves of eyelashes give a restful shade to the half-closed eyes below, and a pointed downward appearance to the broad forehead. Thus, from the point between the two eyelashes to the pointed chin there is a downward motion, relieved only by the rounded cut of the face. All these are features that are only distant colonial echoes of the characteristic peculiarities of the Eastern school of art of the Pâla and Sena periods as revealed in innumerable Brâhmanical and Buddhist images found all over the area stretching from Sârnâth to as far east as Varendra, Kâmarûpa and Samatata.

Now, it is indeed surprising how, in a temple that is supposed to have been built and patronised by Brâhmanas from South India, and where the iconography of the images are South Indian, the images themselves happen to be works belonging to or deriving their inspiration from a school of art in Eastern India. But, however surprising this may be, our finding can scarcely be doubted; and if we are to accept it, the conclusion becomes inevitable that the services of artists imported from Eastern India, or at least trained in the art-culture of that particular school and period, must have been requisitioned by the South Indian masters who had most probably been responsible for the building and upkeep of the temple.

This is a fact which should not cause any surprise. For, Pagan in those days was the mistress of the Burmese world, and she had flung open her doors to outside intercourse within the Peninsula itself and beyond. It was this intercourse of Pagan with the outside world that inaugurated the classical period in the history of Burma. Emigrants from Eastern India and Orissa, the Chola country and Ceylon, as well as from the colonies, began to pour in incessantly, in the wake mainly of trade and commerce. Terracotta votive tablets in Eastern Nâgarî characters of the period from the tenth to the twelfth centuries A.D. have been discovered in large numbers, as well as one inscription in Tamil characters of the thirteenth century. Her sculptures and bronzes can easily be ascribed to art traditions from Eastern India and Orissa, and the Pallava and Chola countries. Her innumerable monuments, when closely examined, reveal influences from Bengal on the one side and Orissa on the other. Still there are others in which Ceylonese elements predominate, and the contribution from the colonies cannot also be left out of consideration. Her Buddhism was Ceylonese, but she drew monks from Bengal, who sailed from Tâmralipta, and from the Chola country, who sailed from Conjeeveram, or Kâñchîpuram, as well as others from Ceylon.[14] It is thus evident that Pagan fostered a culture and civilisation very complex in character, assimilating with her national

[14] *Ep. Birmanica*, vol. III, Part II, pp. 190-91.

genius contributions and influence from all countries and peoples that came in contact with her. This explains why we here find artists from Eastern India (or trained in the art traditions of that particular school of art) employed in a temple that had most probably been reared up and patronised by South Indian Vaiṣṇavas, and where the iconography of the gods is undoubtedly South Indian.

MISCELLANEA.

INDIA AND THE EAST IN CURRENT LITERATURE.

Journal Asiatique, tome CCXIX, No. 1 (July-Sept. 1931).—In this issue M. H. S. Nyberg continues his essay on "Questions of Mazdean Cosmogony and Cosmology." After emphasising the plurality of religions in ancient Irân, and after discussing the opinions of various scholars on the subject, he expresses his own view that there are weighty objections to believing that the Achæmenian kings, who worshipped Ahuramazda, were followers of Zarathuštra. The reform of the latter being of a rather local character, it is only reasonable to suppose that Mazdeans existed independent of his doctrines, as is in fact attested by the description given by Herodotus of the religion of the Persians, which was not Zoroastrianism. Arguments are cited against the view of Hertel that Darius was a convert to Zoroastrianism. The remarkable fact that the Achæmenians and their empire are not referred to in the Avesta, either in the *yašt* attributable to their time or in the texts of a period posterior to them, can only be explained, he thinks, by the conclusion that Zoroastrianism was founded and developed far from the centre of the Achæmenian empire, beyond its limits and independent of its kings. Agreeing with M. Christensen, he would look for the origins of the Zoroastrian movement in eastern Irân. Briefly put, the available data suggest the existence in eastern Irân of a Zoroastrian community before the accession of the Achæmenians, its expansion towards the west under their rule, its peaceful penetration into the west during the centuries immediately preceding our era, well marked progress under the Arsakids, a first attempt to form a canon under one of the Vologases, a very strong revival under the Sassanians, marked by the formation of a definite canon and the organisation of a hierarchy, and finally the transformation of Zoroastrianism into a powerful state religion.

Chapters iv to vii, which are devoted to the subject of Zarvanism, are of much interest.[1] M. Nyberg analyses a passage, evidently an interpolation, in the first chapter of the Bundahišn, which he regards as referring to the god of 'limitless time,' or Zarvan, the quadriform god, the tetrad of divinities invoked by the Manichæans, which he proposes to call the 'Zarvanite tetrad.' Zarvan, though only incidentally referred to in the Avesta, he hopes to show, was a central figure in Irânian thought from a very ancient time. Non-Mazdean sources have also been laid under contribution. Special attention is directed to the account of the religion of the Magians given by the Armenian Eznik de Kolb, as presenting the most detailed and most instructive recital of the Zarvanite theogony that has come down to us. Certain particulars in this recital are singled out for notice, e.g., the characterising of Ormuzd as sweet-smelling and Ahriman as stinking, and the mention of the rods (*barəsman*) as being not only an indispensable equipment for the sacrifice, as is even now the case among the Pârsîs, but also the attribute of divine royalty. More interesting perhaps is the conclusion he draws from the description of the compromise by which Ahriman was to be king for 9,000 years, but Ormuzd was to retain hold of the supreme authority. The story, he considers, would imply that Ahriman was alone king in our world. The worshippers of Ormuzd would naturally revolt against this doctrine, and would only accept the Zarvanite legend after inserting in it that the supreme power still remained with Ormuzd. He thinks this would go to show that there was a fundamental difference between Zarvanism and Mazdaism, and that the Zarvanite myth was of non-Mazdean origin. The Sassanian theology he conceives to have been largely syncretist, containing ill-reconciled differences, the product of an amalgamation of elements that were opposed to each other and even hostile, and which may be characterised briefly as Zarvanite and Mazdean.

Acta Orientalia, vol. X, Pt. III, 1932, contains a "Note on the Buddha's *jâlalakṣana*" by Dr. Sten Konow, in which he suggests that the *jâlalakṣana* may have been based on a popular conception that people may be born with webbed fingers when something great is in store for them. Some fresh reasons are cited for thinking that the traditional conception was that of webbed fingers. It seems probable, he suggests, "that we have to do with ancient folklore, which had not, from the beginning, anything to do with Buddhism and the Buddha, and which was, at a comparatively early date, recast and interpreted in a new way by the learned leaders of Buddhist thought, mainly because the underlying idea was lost sight of or was found to be at variance with later monastic conventions."

1 The attention of Indian readers may also be called to O. G. von Wesendonk's interesting paper on "The Kâlavâda and the Zervanite System" in *JRAS.*, Jan. 1931, p. 53 f.

Archiv Orientální, vol. IV, No. 1, Apr. 1932.—In an essay on the study of Central Asian loan-words (pp. 79-91), following the lead given by Conrady in tracing the origins of loan-words in Chinese borrowed from more western sources, M. Pavel Poucha shows how, with the help of texts recovered in recent years from different sites in Eastern Turkestan, many points of contact may be traced between Tokharian and Uigur and also between Tokharian and Soghdian and other Central Asian languages. He cites a number of Uigur words that evidently appear to have been borrowed from Indian sources, noting also parallels in several cases from Soghdian, Mongolian and Eastern Îrânian. A few examples may be quoted:—

Uigur *akaś*, Tokharian A *ākāś*, Sanskrit *ākāśam*; Uigur *akšar*, Tokharian A *akṣar*, Sanskrit *akṣaram*; Uigur *intri*, Tokharian A *indri*, Sans. *indriyam*; Soghdian *sm'wtr*, Tokharian A *śāmutra*, Sans. *samudraḥ* [not *sâmudraḥ*, as printed]; Tokharian A *āsāṃ*, E. Îrânian **āysan*, Sans. *āsanam* [not *âsânam*, as printed].

In the same issue (pp. 112-117) the learned President of the Research Section publishes a short paper entitled "Assyrians and Hittites in Asia Minor about 2000 B.C." While no historical inscription has been found among the thousands of cuneiform tablets recovered from Kultépé which might shed light upon the political situation in Asia Minor under the domination of the Assyrians, we know therefrom that Sargon of Assur (*c.* 2040 B.C.) was the sovereign of the Assyrian merchants who traded there. It has been suggested that the reference is merely to autonymous commercial colonies; but Dr. Hrozný is of opinion that it may be concluded with much probability from the inscriptions of *Kaneš* that the Assyrians were masters of the country, and that the princes (*rubâum*, etc.) also mentioned, hardly counted. He considers that the names recorded, marking some three generations, suggest that this domination may have lasted seventy or eighty years, or at most a century. In the absence of historical data it is not possible to say with certainty when this change in the political situation occurred. "In my opinion," he writes, "it is very probable that after the fall of the 3rd dynasty of Ur (*c.* 2235 B.C.) Assyria became dependent on the dynasty of Isin, with which the dynasties of Larsa and Babylon quarrelled later on for political influence. The relative weakness of the Isin and Babylonian dynasties of this period generally allowed the Assyrian princes to play a more important part in Asia Minor than in the time of the powerful dynasty of Ur. . . . . . Personally I am inclined to think that it was perhaps during the reign of the Assyrian patési *Ilušuma*, a contemporary and adversary of the Babylonian king Sumuabum (*c.* 2105-2092 B.C.) that the Assyrians took possession of Asia Minor." Dr. Hrozný proceeds to discuss three Indo-European-Hittite names found in the inscriptions, namely, *Labarša*, *Varpa* and *Anita*, who are described as princes (*rubâum*). The importance of these names, he points out, lies in the fact that, though their Indo-European etymology be not always quite clear, they represent the oldest Indo-European linguistic material that we know.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Oct. 1931.—This issue contains the fifth instalment of Prof. F. W. Thomas's important notes on "Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan," the subjects dealt with being (*a*) the Dru-gu (Great Dru-gu and Drug-cun; the Dru-gu *cor* and the Bug-*cor* the Dru-gu and Ge-sar; the title *Bog-do*); (*b*) the Hor; (*c*) the Phod-kar. Dr. Thomas seems to come to the conclusion that the Dru-gu province was, under the Tibetan administration, the old Shan-shan kingdom, and that the Bug-*cor* was Kan-su, probably including the Śa-cu region as far west as Lop-nor. He regards *Ge-sar* (*Kesara*) as a dynastic name.

C. E. A. W. O.

BOOK-NOTICE.

CRITICAL STUDIES IN THE PHONETIC OBSERVATIONS OF INDIAN GRAMMARIANS, by Siddheshwar Varma. (James G. Forlong Fund, vol. vii); xiii+190 pp. London: the Royal Asiatic Society, 1929.

This is an important and interesting work, in which has been undertaken the first wholesale attempt to throw the light of modern linguistics and phonetics upon the acute observations of the native Indian grammarians. Its author, Professor Siddheshwar Varma, is a man of well-known philological and linguistic achievements, besides being an expert phonetician. And he generally shows himself quite at home in European grammatical literature, though we must raise a mild protest against his way of quoting it, which is often highly defective—a fault that is, unfortunately, common to nearly all our Hindu fellow-scholars.

Professor Varma has made a most extensive study of Indian phonetical and grammatical literature. Not only have the Prâtiśâkhyas, Pâṇini and his successors, and a long series of other grammarians yielded up most of their secrets to him, but of sixty-five *Śikṣâs* known to him by name he has studied no less than fifty; and, although the results seem sometimes to be rather barren, there is no doubt that he has made important finds during his exploration of this largely virgin soil. He is also thoroughly at home in the Middle Indian and modern dialects, the phonetic developments of which he has often very happily compared with the statements of the Sanskrit phoneticians.

When we record the following few scattered remarks and questions, they are certainly not meant to detract from the value of the work, which, according to our humble opinion, ranks very high indeed.

P. 21.—Why should Yâska's date be about 500 B.C. ? It seems fairly obvious that Yâska is somewhat older than Pâṇini, who may very well have lived about the end of the sixth pre-Christian century.

P. 27 f.—The conclusions arrived at here are obviously open to grave doubt, as the discovery—important though it be by itself—of a single quotation from the *Taitt. Prât.* in the *Mahâbhâṣya* seems to afford a very slender foundation for erecting a chronological system.

P. 33.—If the learned author means that the name *Kumbhîpâka* is of rather modern origin, he may be right. However, the idea of a hell where the sinners are boiled in pots is certainly quite old (cp. the hell *lohakumbhî* in *Jâtaka*, III, 43 ; IV, 493, etc).

P. 36.—*Kambala-Cârâyaṇîyaḥ* does not necessarily mean (as Kaiyyaṭa states) "a C. fond of a blanket." It may rather mean "C. who wears a *kambala*," cp. the well-known *Ajita Keśakambalâ* as well as the *Kambalâśvatara* of the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (Bhattacharya, *Foreword to Tattvasamgraha*, p. liv f. ; and Charpentier, *Monde Or.*, xxiii, 312).

P. 37.—The conclusion concerning the home of the *Cârâyaṇîya Śikṣâ* is certainly not justifiable. To speak of "an area in which . . . . Apabhraṃśa was not predominant" means begging the question, as the literary Apabhraṃśa has, of course, never had any special geographical area to itself. Besides, Pischel only says that the *svarabhakti* vowel *a* was more common in Ardhamâgadhî and Apabhraṃśa than in other dialects—*i* being, of course, much more frequent than *a* even within these two.

P. 61 f.—It seems a pity that the learned author has apparently not studied the very important work of Professor Hermann on the structure of syllables (*Silbenbildung im Griechischen und in den anderen indogermanischen Sprachen, 1923*) which would, no doubt, have been of considerable help to him.—According to my humble opinion only a form *agg/ni-* will explain *aggi-* just as only *var/gga-* will explain *vagga-*.

P. 72.—That *vatsa-* in Prâkrit has developed into *vaccha-* has never been explained in a satisfactory way. Only some sort of palatalization (i.e., a form **vatśa-* > **vathśa-* > **vatśha-*) would possibly explain this singular fact.

P. 73.—The author here gives some examples of an insertion of *-t-* between *s-n* and *s-m* which apparently is closely connected with the development of *Viṣṇu-* > *Viṣṭṇu-* or *Kṛṣṇa-* > *Kṛṣṭṇa-*. The passage from the *Taitt. Prât.*, so happily adduced by Professor Varma, makes away with all sorts of more or less successful explanations of the forms **Kṛṣṭa-* etc. (cp., e.g., Professor Jacobi, *IF.*, XLV, 168 f. ; Pisani, *IF.*, xlviii, 226 f. ; and Caland, *IF.*, xlix, 132).

P. 78.—Read *nañjas.*

P. 99 f.—On doubling, cp., especially, Jacobi, *KZ.*, XXV, 603 f. ; and Johansson, *Shâhbâzgaṛhî*, I, 68 f. ; II, 4, 22.

P. 102.—*Vṛkka-* can only have developed out of **vṛt-ka-*, cp. Av. *vərəδka* (on the etymology, cp. Marstrander, *IF.*, XX, 347 n. 1 ; Charpentier, *Monde Or.* viii, 180 f.).

P. 124.—On *aphe, tuphe*, cp. Professor J. Bloch, *MSL.*, xxiii, 265.

P. 135.—No connection could well be possible between a *svarabhakti* vowel *e* in Sanskrit and an old Slavonic *svarabhakti* *ĕ* (as in *jelenĭ*, etc., cp. Schmidt, *Vocalismus*, ii, 67 f.). Besides, the Sanskrit ē is always long, while according to the *Ath. Prât.*, i, 101 f., the *svarabhakti* is ½, ¼ or even ⅛ of a short vowel. Thus, when some authorities speak of a "*svarabhakti e*," this must, of course, only denote an indistinct vowel, a "Murmelvokal."

P. 155.—To call French an "Italic dialect" is scarcely to the point.

We congratulate Professor Varma upon his important and successful work and hope soon to meet with him again in a field of research which he masters so thoroughly.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

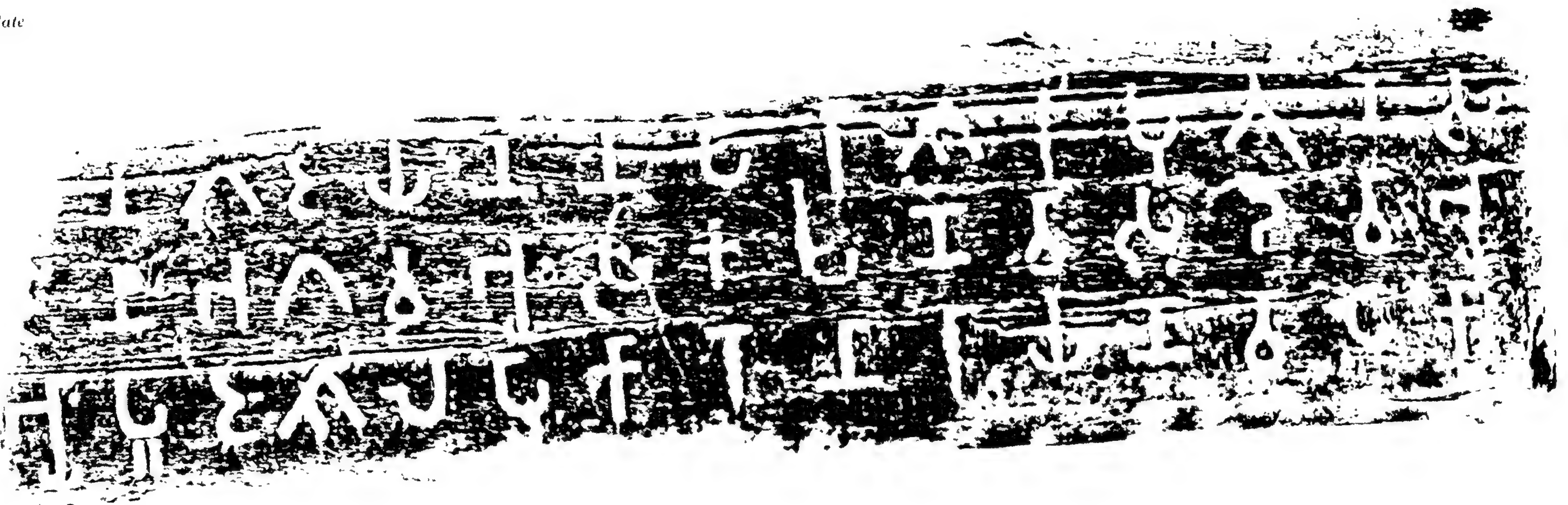
KUMUDVATÎPRAKARAṆA.

A QUERY.

In the *Padmaprâbhṛtaka* (ed. *Caturbhâṇî*), p. 25, mention is made of a palm-leaf writing containing a portion of a play of this name and inscribed *Kumudvatîprakaraṇe Śûrpakasaktâṁ râjadârikâṁ dhâtrî rahasy upâlabhate.* The play evidently dealt with the love of the princess Kumudvatî for the fisherman Śûrpaka, the few scattered references to which in Sanskrit literature do not make the details of the story clear. I can find no entry of a play bearing this name in the catalogues of MSS. preserved in India, and I write this note in the hope that it may catch the eye of someone who knows of a MS. of it. Should that happen, I should be very glad to have details of it.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

Plate




Last portion of line 1


Last portion of line 2

THE GHOSÛṆḌÎ INSCRIPTION OF THE SECOND CENTURY B.C.

BY R. R. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER.

THIS fragmentary inscription[1] engraved on a big stone and now preserved in the Udaipur Museum was found at **Ghosûṇḍî,** a village near Nagarî,[2] about seven miles north of Chitor in the Mewâṛ territory of Râjpûtânâ. It is broken into several pieces, of which the biggest one found up to now has been already published by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XVI, p. 25. The two other pieces,[3] which form parts of the same stone, are here edited by me from an ink-impression kindly placed at my disposal by MM. Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha of Ajmer.

The **characters** of the inscription are what is known as *Brâhmî lipi,* belonging to a period about the second century B.C. The average size of the letters is about $1\frac{3}{4}$.″

The **language** is Sanskrit.

The inscription records the construction of a stone wall round the hall of worship of **Saṁkarṣaṇa** and **Vâsudeva**, as also the performance of *aśvamedha* sacrifice by Sarvatâta of the Gaja family and son of Pârâśarî. The fact that Saṁkarṣaṇa (Balarâma, brother of Kṛṣṇa) and Vâsudeva (Kṛṣṇa) were worshipped as early as the second century B.C. is known from this inscription ; and this fact is important.

One of the two new fragments reads ... **ण सर्वतातेन अश्वमेध.** Now, the second line of the above published inscription commences with the word **जिना.** If the meaning of the word **अश्वमेध** be considered. it will be obvious that it is connected with the word **जिना**, so that **जिना** will read as **याजिना.** Thus the whole reading will be ... **ण सर्वतातेन अश्वमेध-याजिना.** The other fragment reads **सर्वेश्वराभ्यां**, meaning the 'lord of lords,' which may probably refer to Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vâsudeva.

Text.

L. 1.—[त] न गाजायेनन पाराशरीपुत्रेण स ··· ण सर्वतातेन अश्वमेध—

,, 2.—जिना[4] भगवभ्यां[5] संकर्षणवासुदेवाभ्यां सर्वेश्वरा [भ्यां]—

,, 3.—भ्यां पूजाशिलाप्राकारो नारायणवाटे का[6]—

Some Further Notes on the above Inscription.

Mr. E. H. Johnston, to whom I showed this inscription and Mr. Halder's reading of it, has recorded the following notes, which are so suggestive that they are, with his permission, reproduced in full.
C. E. A. W. O., Joint-Editor.

I am much obliged to the Joint-Editor for giving me the privilege of seeing Mr. Halder's interesting paper, which throws new light on an important but difficult inscription. The following notes do not claim to give a final solution, but are only meant to initiate discussion.

First as regards the readings, the first letter of the bigger of the new fragments seems to me clearly *ṇâ*. The next word, *sarvatâtena*, is odd, but, as the bottom of *tâ* is cut off according to the rubbing, a possible reading is *sarvatrâtena*. It may also be noted that in the original piece the letter *gâ* in *gâjâyanena* seems to have a subscript letter below, attached to the left arm of the letter. The thick left-hand down-stroke is clearly intentional, but the right-hand one may, according to the rubbing, be merely fortuitous. On the whole, I think Messrs. Jayaswal and Halder have done right to ignore it.

The failure to observe the *sandhi* in one of the new fragments is not surprising in view of the similar instances in the well-known Sanskrit inscriptions of Rudradâman and his

[1] Noted in the *Annual Report* of the Râjpûtânâ Museum, Ajmer, for 1926-27, p. 2.

[2] This village is referred to in an old inscription of the fourth century B.C., see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. LVIII, p. 229.

[3] They were found on the border of the village Ghosûṇḍi.

[4] Read **याजिना.**

[5] Read **भगवद्भ्यां.**

[6] Read **कारित:.**

daughter. The spellings *rva* and *rve*, instead of the *rvva* and *rvve* which one would expect, are also noteworthy. The dating of the inscription to the second century B.C. seems incontestable.

Mr. Jayaswal, in editing the largest fragment in *Ep. Ind.*, took the author of the inscription to be a Brâhmaṇa, a very proper conclusion on the evidence before him. But Mr. Halder's new fragments suggest that this is not the case. For the mention of *aśvamedha* (I would accept Mr. Halder's ingenious combination, *aśvamedhayâjinâ*, cf. *Śatapathabrâhmaṇa*, xiii. 1. 2. 3. and *Bṛ. Âr. Up.*, iii. 3, 2) surely shows that we are dealing with a king of the first importance and, taking into account the date of the inscription, our search must apparently, on this point of view, be limited to the Greek kings of the Panjâb, the Śuṅgas and the Ândhra dynasty, all of whom might have reached the neighbourhood of Ghosûṇḍi. There were Greek worshippers of Vâsudeva, as we know from the Besnagar inscription, and a well-known passage of Patañjali indicates that the Greeks penetrated to Mâdhyamikâ close to Ghosûṇḍî. But it seems improbable that any Greek king should have celebrated an *aśvamedha*, whereas kings of both the other dynasties did so. Of the Śuṅgas this is recorded of Puṣyamitra, and his family is specially connected in literature and inscriptions with the kingdom of Vidiśâ, not so very far from the place of the inscription. On the other hand they apparently claimed descent from Bharadvâja (*CHI*, I, 518) and I do not see how to connect the patronymic, Gâjâyana, with them, nor is there any other point of contact with them in the inscription.

The Ândhra kings, of whom the third, Śâtakarṇi, twice performed an *aśvamedha*, offer greater possibilities. For one thing, as is well known, the worship of Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vâsudeva is referred to in the Nânâghât inscriptions of the first kings of this line (*Arch. S. of W. I.*, V, p. 60). The epithets there applied to them are *caṁdasûtânaṁ mahimâvatânaṁ*, whereas here they are called *sarveśvara*, a term which is only used to denote the supreme divinity. It ocurs at *Mâṇḍûkya Up.*, 6, but more significant for our purpose are the only two ocurrences in the *MBh.*, once of Kṛṣṇa at vi. 4462, *Vâsudevo 'nantaśaktiḥ sṛṣṭisaṁhârakârakaḥ | sarveśvaro devadevaḥ paramâtmâ sanâtanaḥ*, and the other among the 1,000 names of Viṣṇu at xiii. 6960. Also the Kâshmîrî recension of the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, recently discovered by Prof. F. O. Schrader, inserts a half-verse in Arjuna's praise of Kṛṣṇa at xi. 39, which includes *sarveśvara*. The word seems to be specially associated with the worship of Kṛṣṇa and the nature of its uses suggests the inference that this inscription represents a far more advanced stage in the deification of Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vâsudeva than that at Nânâghâṭ, though not necessarily more so than that at Besnagar.

Next consider the names. Gâjâyana as a patronymic is unknown, but it is curious that according to Rapson's catalogue the elephant is the commonest symbol on the coins of the Ândhra dynasty, occurring on twice as many types as the horse, which Prof. Przyluski looks on as peculiarly typical of these kings (*JRAS.*, 1929, pp. 273 ff.), and that the only proper names in Prof. Luders' list in *Ep. Ind.* X which begin with *gaja* are to be found in an inscription of Gautamîputra Śâtakarṇi's reign, namely the kṣatriya brothers, Gajasena and Gajamitra (*Arch. S. of W. I.*, V, p. 75). It is perhaps not without significance that the only proper names in literature containing the element *gaja* are to be found among the traditional authors of the Prakrit anthology known as Hâla's *Saptaśataka* (ed. Weber, p. lv). For, whether that collection is really as old as the Ândhra dynasty or not, it clearly belongs to the region associated with their rule.

Further, the Ândhras are the only known dynasty of this period who make regular use of Brâhmaṇa *gotra* names to designate the king's mother, the usage, so far as we know at present, being confined to the later kings. The recorded names are Vâsiṣṭhiputra (of several kings), Mâṭharîputra (of one king), Gautamîputra (of one king), and Hâritîputra (of a branch line). It is remarkable that we have a similar name here, and all the more so when we reflect that the Pârâśaras are a section of the Vâsiṣṭhas, the name which occurs oftenest ; Pârâśarîputra is practically in effect a synonym of Vâsiṣṭhîputra. Is this merely coincidence ?

These names do not imply that the kings were Brâhmaṇas. For Aśvaghoṣa, who was a contemporary of some of the kings so named, points out at *Saundarananda*, i. 22-23, that non-Brâhmaṇas follow the *gotra* of their gurus, and gives as an example Balarâma and Kṛṣṇa, who became, the former a Gautama, the latter a Gârgya, from their having different gurus.[7] The proper name of the king presumably followed this word and, if so, it began with *sa*, and, unless another word or title intervenes, ended with the *ṇâ* of Mr. Halder's larger fragment. There is however, so far as I can see, no name in the dynastic lists of the Ândhras or on their coins or inscriptions which can reasonably be brought into line with these indications. It is of course possible that Mr. Halder is right in taking *sarvatâtena* (or *°trâtena*) as a proper name and that the intermediate word (or words) was a title or a word giving a further indication of the king's family. *Sarvatâta* I can make nothing of ; *trâta* is known as an ending for personal names (*e.g.*, Bhavatrâta), and we have in a Mathurâ inscription of Huviṣka's reign a word read by Prof. Lüders as *śavatrâtâpotriya* (*JRAS.*, 1912, p. 158). Seeing that Sarva is well authenticated as a name of Kṛṣṇa, I would read *sarvatrâtena*, and understand it as a name or epithet.

It thus appears that there are several points of contact between this inscription and what we know of the Ândhra kings, and it may perhaps belong to one of them ; if so, it would have to be placed in the big gap between the earlier and the later rulers of this line, for which we have no definite information. As against this possibility, account must be taken of the fact that all the known inscriptions of this dynasty are in Prakrit, except for that of Rudradâman's daughter, who follows the practice of her father, not of her husband ; according to tradition in fact the Ândhras were special patrons of Prakrit literature. Also the place of its find is substantially further north and west of any place hitherto definitely associated with them. Certainty seems hardly possible, unless and until further fragments come to light, from which the name of the king can be deduced. In any case, whether new material were to confirm my suggestion or to show it to be unfounded, we have here a historical document of some importance, and it is much to be hoped that Mr. Halder will be able to discover some more of the missing portions of the inscription.

E. H. J.

A BALLAD OF KERALA.

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(*Continued from page 154.*)

Chandu at once becomes communicative, and discloses that Ârômaṟ is preparing for the fight, and that he is in haste to get his *churikas* sharpened. Ariṅṅôṭeṟ pacifies Chandu, remarking that he need have no fear of his uncle, shrewdly reminding him whether it was not Ârômaṟ who stood in the way of his marrying Uṇṇiârchcha, when her father and mother had both agreed, and observing that if he were a man he should never forgive him. Ariṅṅôteṟ, thus engaging him in conversation, leads him as far as the *paṭippura*. Chandu refusing to go further. The former at once sends his daughter Kuñjaṇṇûli to lure him to the house, telling her that in open combat he has no chance of success with Ârômaṟ, who is skilled in all arts and is invincible, and can only be conquered by foul means. Kuñjaṇṇûli, however, fails to tempt him and returns discomfitted. Ariṅṅôṭeṟ tries his niece Kuṭṭimâṇi who,

Paṭiññaṟi machchaṟa tâṟ tuṟannu	Opening the central strong-room,
Meivarṇa peṭṭi valichchu vechchu	Draws out the box of jewels.
Ômanapeṭṭi mukham turannu	And opening the lid,
Âbharanaṅṅal etukkunnundu	Takes out her jewels,
Kaṇṇâdi nôki tilakam toṭṭu	And looking in the mirror puts on the *poṭṭu*.[49]

[7] The Jainas similarly apply Brâhmaṇa *gotra* names to Kṣatriyas (*SBE*, XXII, 226).

[49] A circular mark on the forehead, mostly red (originally symbolical of Śiva's third eye) [Gundert, p. 711.]

Pîli tiru muḍi keṭṭivechchu	Wears her locks with grace
Chandṟan valañña tiru neṟṟi mêl	On her crescent shaped forehead,
Mârvinṟakiya tâli mâla	Wears her necklace, which heightens her charms,
Râmâyanam kotiya vaḷakaḷ ranḍam	Bracelets worked with scenes from the Râmâyaṇam,
Keiviralkkañjinum ponmôtiram	And rings on her fingers,
Kunnikkuruvotta mukham vaḍive	Face as smooth and round as the seed of the *kunni*.[50]
Âṭa ñeriññuṭuttukoṇḍu	And arranging her garments in graceful folds,
Nêriya tôrttoṅṅiṭuttu peṇṇe	[She] takes a thin cloth
Mêlmuṇḍu nânnâyi chuṟṟunnuṇḍu	And wears it as an upper cloth, [and]
Êlassariññaṇ ara muṟukki	Fastens the girdle round her waist.[51]
Veṟṟila tinnu rasavum pârttu	Chewing betel and in high spirits [she]
Âna naḍayum naḍannu peṇṇu	Walks along with the majestic gait of an elephant,
Môtira kei koṇḍu mukhavum maṟachu	Shading her face with her bejewelled hand,
Koñji kuṟaññaṅṅu chellunnuṇḍu	She proceeds flirting
Paṭippura tannilum chennavaḷum	Towards the gatehouse.
Kuṭṭimâṇiyuṭe varavukaṇḍu	Seeing Kuṭṭimâṇi approaching,
Punchirikoṇḍu chirichchu Chandu	Chandu smiles with delight.

Chandu is captivated and accompanies her to the house. Seating him on her cot, she bestows great personal attention on him, serves him betel, placing the folded leaves in his mouth. Presently she leaves him and returns with refreshments.

Veḷḷittaḷika poṭi tuṭachchu	Cleaning a silver tray,
Veḷḷavil śaṟkara kadaḷippaṟam[52]	Gets white beaten rice, sugar and *kadaḷi* fruit,
Chentaṅṅiḷannîrum koṭṭatêṅṅa[53]	Red tender cocoanut and pieces of *copra*.
Veḷḷitaḷikayil vechchukoṇḍu	And placing all in the tray;
Ponnumtaḷika koṇḍâke mûḍi	Covers it with a golden tray,
Tariyitta kinḍiyil taṇṇirâyi	And with water in a bell-metal vessel,
Chandunṟe arikattu chennu peṇṇe	Approaches Chandu.

Inviting him to refresh himself, she gains Chandu's confidence. She wins him over to the side of her uncle, successfully coaxing him to agree to manœuvre the fight to his advantage. At this juncture Ariṅṅôṭeṟ enters the room, and Chandu unties the bundle and shows him the *churikas*. He starts at the sight of the formidable weapons of Ârômaṟ, and pleads with Chandukuṭṭi to save him devising means to turn the fight to his own advantage. He

[50] The form of the face is compared to the seed of the *kunni* (*Abrus precatorius*). The seed has a small rounded form, and is very smooth and bright.

[51] *Êlassariññân*, a girdle or chain round the waist, with an amulet. The amulet is made of gold or silver, and is hollow. In it is inserted a thin rolled-up piece of silver plate with charms and magic designs engraved on it. The chain with the amulet is worn sometimes above the garment, as stated here.

[52] *Kadaḷi*, plantain fruit (*Musa sapientum*).

[53] *Koṭṭatteṅṅa*, the dried kernel of the coco-nut, or *copra*, as it is called.

cleverly suggests that the iron nail securing the handle beremoved and a bamboo splinter substituted, soldered over with *ponkaram*.[54] In return, he offers to give both his niece and daughter to Chandu in marriage with all his property. Taking hold of the hands of his daughter and niece he places them in the hands of Chandukuṭṭi. Chandu is tempted and yields, and Ariññôṭeṟ places 16 gold *fanams* in his hands to bribe the blacksmith to do the foul work. Chandu departs for the blacksmith's house. The blacksmith's wife seeing him coming, spreads a grass mat and serves him betel. She enquires and learns all about his purpose. The blacksmith then appears, and on Chandu explaining everything, he sets to work.

Churikakal nâlum kaṭaññu koṇḍu	After sharpening all the four weapons, [he]
Churika kâṇayile âṇi taṭṭi	Removes the fastening nails
Muḷayâṇi iṭṭu muṟukkunnuṇḍu	And inserts a bamboo splinter instead, [and]
Ponkâram vechchu viḷakkiyallo	Solders it over with *ponkaram*.
Atutâne kânunnu kollappeṇṇum	The blacksmith's wife seeing the foul play,
Kaṇṇîrum kayyâle ninnavaḷum	Stands in dismay with tears in her eyes.

Ârômaṟ takes formal leave of his father and mother, and his brother and sister before proceeding to the fight. With blessings from the father the procession starts with all pomp and ceremony :—

Âyirattonnôḷam Nâyanmârum	With a thousand and one Nâyars
Kîṟûredattile Vâṟunnôrum	And the *Vâṟunnôr* of *Kîṟuriḍem*,
Munnilum pinnilum akampaṭiyum	With attendants in front and rear,
Pâvâḍayum nalla pakalviḷakkum	With cloth spread on the ground to walk on and the lamp by day,
Minni parichayum pachappôndi	Glittering shields and the fencing foil,
Âṟpum naṭappum naṭa viḷiyum	Shouts and acclamations of triumph
Tikkum tirakkumorârppukaḷum	And great bustle and noise ;
Chînaveḍiyum paṭamuṟakkam	With fireworks and beating of drums,
Nâgapurattûḍe purappadêṇam	The procession starts through *Nâgapuram*.[55]

They had not proceeded far when they see the bad omen of *vaṇṇâtti mâṟṟu*,[56] which makes them halt for a while. They resume their way, when they see a woodcutter, axe in hand, coming across, and as they proceed further, a branch of a mango tree crashes and falls. They again stop for a short while, and resume the journey when the rustling of a *pîpal* tree is heard. Ârômaṟ, dismayed at this series of bad omens, gives expression to his fears that the

54 Borax. 55 Nâdâpuram of the present day, in Kadattanad *taluk* of North Malabar.

56 The washerwoman coming with the *mâṟṟu*,—a word which literally means a change (of cloth), signifying the clothes which the washerwoman gives for removing pollution, such as that attached by convention to births, deaths, menstruation, etc. *Vannatti* means a woman of the *Vannan*, or washerman caste, who does all the washing for the Tiyars, and supplies the latter and the Nâyars with the necessary *mâṟṟu* for all purificatory purposes. It is noteworthy that though the Nâyars have their own washerman, who belongs to the *Vannattan* or *Veluthedan* caste, the latter does not supply the *mâṟṟu*, which is done by a woman of the *Vannan* caste. The latter is subordinate to and is under the sole control of the Tiyars. While the women of the caste attend to washing, the men are mostly engaged in devil-dancing.

The omens seen on commencing any journey or undertaking are supposed to augur well or ill, as the case may be, towards its success, and great importance is attached to omens by all classes. Among the ancients who practised this were the Romans, who had a religious college whose duty it was to observe and interpret the signs of approval and disapproval sent by gods in reference to any proposed undertaking.

fates are against him, quoting the incident of Bâli's death. They pass an *Aiyappen kâvu*,[57] where they make offerings to the deity, and continue their journey until they reach the Vâṛunnôr's house. The Vâṛunnôr's mother receives them with due ceremony. Sprinkling rice over Ârômaṛ, she conducts him and seats him in the *tekkina*, and serves betel. She is struck by the figure of Ârômaṛ and enquires of his parents and wonders if any one born of woman could be found to compare with him. She is surprised that his family should have ever allowed him to engage in the contest. She feels sorry and says that she would rather her son should lose the combat than risk the life of such a noble person. Ârômaṛ replies that he has made up his mind and that nothing will shake his resolve. Ârômaṛ grows uneasy at Chandukkuṭṭi's delay in returning, and, after refreshment, he sets out for the blacksmith's house. On his arrival, Chandukkuṭṭi excuses himself by saying that the blacksmith was out and had but returned the previous night. The blacksmith's wife shows the same concern for Ârômaṛ as she previously evinced, and when the blacksmith makes over the *churikas* to him, she is overcome with grief at the deception practised :—

Kaṇṇirum kayyâle ninnavaḷum	She stands mute wiping her tears
Kaḍa kaṇṇil chôra podiññavalku	Her eyes seeming to shed blood at the thought of the deed.

A plan for exposing the fraud suggests itself to her. She pleads that ever since she left his country, she has not had the pleasure of seeing a *churika* wielded, and beseeches Ârômaṛ to flourish it. However much she presses he refuses, remarking that as he is on the point of fighting, he cannot wield it in jest, adding that if she would go later to his house he would with pleasure show her. Failing in her attempt to enable Ârômaṛ to detect the fraud, she concludes : *Deiva vidhi yâṛkum taḍuttukûḍa.* "No one can be wiser than destiny," and, taking the four *churikas* in her hands, invokes God's blessing with a prayer that, despite all the flaws, the weapons may triumph. They return with all expedition to *Kîṛûriḍem.* Next morning Ârômaṛ,

Devâra pûja uḍan kaṛichchu	Finishes early his morning prayers
Aṅgakkurikal Varachchu Chêkôn	And wearing on his person the appropriate marks in sandal paste,
Vîrâḷippaṭṭu ñeriññuduttu	Gracefully dons the silk garment,
Ponnu ariññâḷ arayil pûṭṭi	And over it fastens the golden girdle,
Virutum *vîryaṅṅala*[58] kayyil pûṭṭi	And wears the warrior's bracelet.

The party proceeds in state with all the honours attaching to the *chêkavaṛs* :—

Chêkavaṛkkuḷḷa padavikaḷum	The honours attaching to *chêkavaṛs*,
Koṭikkûra taṛakal nirattikkonde	With flags and banners flying,
Âlavaṭṭam veṅchâmara pitichchukoṇdu	With the ceremonial fan and the fly-whisk,
Ponkoṛrakuṭayume paṭṭukuta	The golden and the silk umbrellas,
Patineṭṭu vâdyamaṭippikkunnu	To the accompaniment of eighteen kinds of music,
Kombum kuṛal dhûḷi mêḷattôḍe	With the blowing of horns and playing of flutes
Virâli śankhum ûtichchiṭṭu	And sounding of conchs,

the procession starts with the *changalavaṭṭa*[59] fully lit borne in front, the *râjâkkaḷ* immediately after, followed by the Chêkôṛ and the Vâṛunnôr and his thousand and one Nâyars in the rear. They reach the city gateway, where all halt. Ârômaṛ goes and inspects the *aṅgataṭṭu*,

[57] Small temple. Temples called *kâvus*, dedicated to minor deities are seen in all parts of North Malabar. The Śaiva temple referred to is dedicated to Aiyappen, one of the Saivite deities.

[58] *Viryaṅṅala—Vîra-śṛṅkhala*, or the chain of valour. For conspicuous valour it is customary to present a silk shawl and a golden chain, which is worn as a bracelet on the right wrist. The presentation is made by the chief, or Râja, in person, accompanied by due pomp and ceremony.

[59] Brass lamp with a chain attached.

or fighting platform, erected there, and scrutinising it, detects the flaw in the patched up woodwork. Ârômaṟ sends for the carpenter, Viswakarman of Kolattirinad, who did the work. The latter comes in great fright prepared for the worst, and regretting his indiscretion in listening to Ariṅṅôṭêṟ's evil designs. Ârômaṟ, however, keeps quiet, and asks him to perform the ceremonies necessary for the consecration of the *taṭṭu*, or platform. He accordingly asks for the following articles for *Gaṇapatipûja*[60] :—

Nâlukâluḷḷoru pîṭham vêṇam	A four-legged stool should be placed
Pîṭham mukaḷil taḷika vêṇam	And over it a brass plate
Taḷika niṟayôḷam veḷḷeriyum	Filled with cucumbers,
Veḷḷiri mîta yoru nâlikêram	And over the cucumbers a coco-nut,
Veḷḷavil śarkara koṭṭattêṅṅa	Beaten rice, sugar and *koṭṭattêṅṅa*[61]
Jalagandha pushpavum dhûpam dîpam	Flowers, incense and the ceremonial lamp.
Chenteṅṅiḷannîr kadaḷippaṟam	Red tender coco-nuts and *kada'i* (plantains),
Veṟṟilaṭakkayum vêṇamallo	And betel-nuts
Kânikkiṭuvân ṟâsipaṇam	And *ṟâsipaṇam*[62] for *dakshiṇa*.[63]

The *pûjâ* being over, Ârômaṟ makes the customary presents to the carpenter. The place is soon thronged with people come to see the fight. As a preliminary, Ârômaṟ gives an exhibition of his marvellous skill to entertain the audience, and the great men assembled shower rich gifts on him in approbation. The real fight soon begins. Ariṅṅôṭeṟ ascends the platform with the help of a ladder, whereas Ârômaṟ makes a leap, alighting gracefully on the platform. They have not been fighting long before Ariṅṅôṭeṟ tries his foul strokes, which Ârômaṟ parries successfully. In the thick of the fight, Ârômaṟ finds to his horror that his weapon has broken in two. He at once realizes that the blacksmith has deceived him, though he is unable to divine his motive. He signs to his cousin Chandu to change the *churika*, when Chandu knavishly says that he has not brought a spare one. He asks the latter to lend him his, which Chandu refuses, remarking that he is as much a *chekoṟ* as himself, and that he cannot lend his weapon. Chandu's treachery flashes on him in a moment. He then addresses Ariṅṅôṭeṟ to suspend the fight until he gets a weapon.

Âyudham ñanonnu vâṅṅikkôṭṭe	Let me get a weapon.
Âyudham illâte kollunnatu	Killing undefended
Âṇuṅṅalkkottume chêrchchayilla	Scarcely befits men,
Kalarikkârkkoṭṭume chêrchchayilla	Least of all us who belong to reputed *kalaris*.

Ariṅṅôṭeṟ replies not, but savagely rushes forward and strikes Ârômaṟ who deftly retreats, with the result that the blow, which would otherwise have been fatal, is averted, the weapon just gliding over his body, leaving a slight cut. Enraged at this insolence, and warning Ariṅṅôṭeṟ to defend himself, Ârômaṟ grasps his broken dagger, and fights with greater vigour. Ariṅṅôṭeṟ is unable to withstand him. Ârômaṟ, flourishing his broken weapon, strikes at Ariṅṅôṭeṟ with unerring aim, cutting off his head clean. Ârômaṟ, exhausted, asks Chandu to close the shutters and not to let anybody in. He leans on Chandu, resting his head and closing his eyes with fatigue. Hastening not to let the opportunity slip, Chandu takes hold of the sharp end of the brass lamp, heats it red hot and thrusts it into

[60] It is the practice to begin any auspicious work with an offering to the god Gaṇapati, which is still scrupulously observed.

[61] Dried coco-nut. [62] See *I.A.*, vol. LXI, p. 11, note 12. [63] Customary presents to Brâhmaṇs.

the side of Ârômaṟ at the place where Ariṅṅôṭeṟ's sword had just scraped his skin. Ârômaṟ starts with sudden pain and gets up. when Chandu springs into the midst of the crowd and makes good his escape. Ârômaṟ unconcerned at his mortal wound, announces his victory, which the Vâṟunnôr receives with acclamation :—

Mûnnum kūṭṭiyâṟttu veṭiyum vechchu	Gives three shouts of joy with firing of guns.
Ariyiṭṭu vâṟchcha[64] kaṟikkunnuṇḍu	And blesses Ârômaṟ with the ceremonial pouring of rice.
Tandêṟṟem kûṭe kaṟikkunnuṇḍu	And [Ârômaṟ] is lifted up in a palanquin,
Kumbiḷil kutti paṇam kâṟchcha vechchu	And money is presented in a folded leaf.
Kayyum piṭichchu vaḷa iṭichchu	And taking him by the hand, is decorated with a bracelet for valour.

After these ceremonies have ended Ârômaṟ disclcses his wound, explaining how he is indebted to his dear cousin Chandu for his grievous hurt, whereas Ariṅṅôṭeṟ's sword had but scraped his skin. He then shows to all the knavish work in the construction of the platform, which collapses and falls down before their very eyes. Ârômaṟ gets all the incidents recorded on a palm-leaf, as was the wont in those days, and entrusts it to the hands of the Vâṟunnôr, to be made over to his sister Uṇṇiâṟchcha. Ârômaṟ takes leave of all and sets out in procession, with the usual pomp, accompanied by the Vâṟunnôr. Ârômaṟ observes, when nearing his house, that his parents will be shocked to see him being helped along, and boldly walks erect. On approaching his father, he falls at his feet, and tells how his fears have come true ; how Chandu has betrayed his trust, and brought him to death's door. He then calls his brother and asks him to fetch his son from his uncle's house. The boy is at once brought, and Ârômaṟ seating him in his lap, says :

Ivane nî nallavaṇṇam rakshikkêṇam	" You must take great care of this boy,
Niyallâtivanârum illayello	" He has none but you to look to.
Vidyakalokke pathippikkênem	" He should be well trained in all arts."

He adds that he has not settled any property on his son, which should be seen to. He sends for a red tender coco-nut, drinks it, takes leave of all his kith and kin individually and asks for permission to untie the dressing. The bandage is then removed and he dies.

Puttûram vîṭṭile dukhaṅṅaḷum	The sorrows and sufferings of Puttûram house
Anantan Oṟichchâṟkum chollikkûda	None but God can tell.

APPENDIX.

Note on Malabar Dwelling Houses.[65]

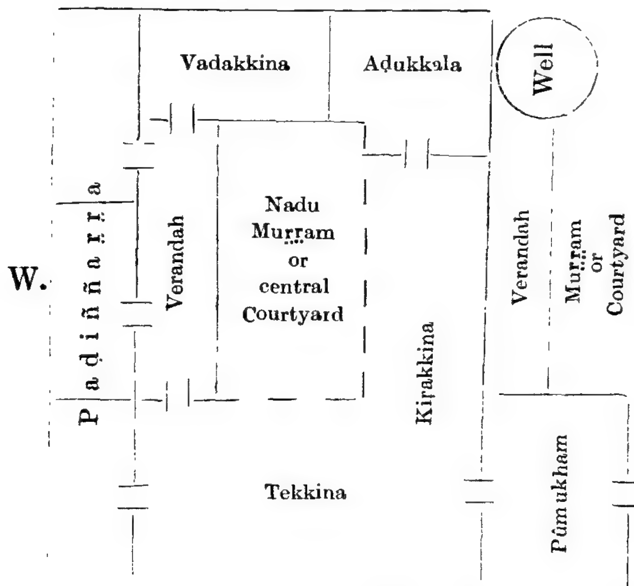
The several references in this song to Malabar dwelling houses will be better understood from the following description of a typical Malabar house. The most characteristic dwelling house of Kerala is what is called a *nâlu-pura,* literally 'four houses,' built on four sides of a central courtyard, which is open to the sky, the rooms being named after their position relative to the central courtyard, viz., *tekkina,* or the southern room, *vadakkina,* or the northern room, *kiṟakkina,* or the eastern room, and *paḍiññâṟṟa,* or the three western rooms, respectively. Every house is by convention regarded as forming part of a *nâlu-pura,* which explains why a house of the smaller type though facing east, as all Malabar houses do, is yet called a *paḍiññaṟṟa pura,* that being the western and the principal block of the quadrangle in a *nâlu-pura,* consisting of three rooms, with a verandah in front. In a typical *paḍiññâṟṟa pura,* however, which is the most common type, there is ordinarily a smaller room behind the central room, termed the *chayippu,*

[64] A coronation ceremony gone through by the Rajas of Kerala, consisting in pouring rice on the head.

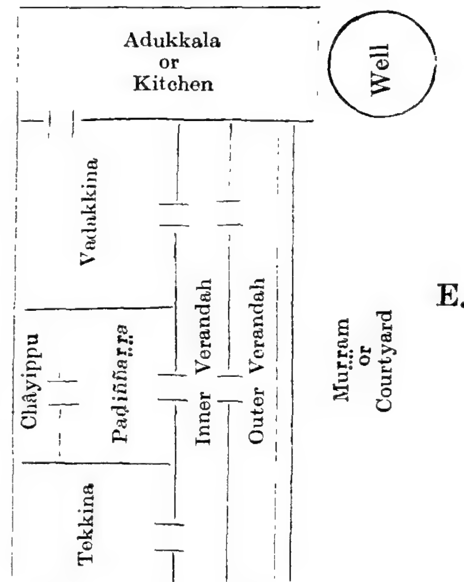
[65] For Malabar dwelling houses, see also *Malabar District Gazetteer* (1908), pp. 139-142 : *Madras Government Museum Bulletin,* vol. III, No. 3, *The Nâyars of Malabar,* by F. Fawcett, pp. 303-304.

or lean-to. Again, besides the inner verandah facing the three central rooms, is another or the outer verandah, with a long-ridged roof, on a beam supported by high pillars.

Plan of a nâlu-pura house.



Plan of a paḍiññaṛṛa house.



The central of the three western rooms is called the *paḍiññaṛṛi-machchu*, reference to which is frequently made in this song. It is the principal room of the house, the room containing the valuables, and the room sacred to all household ceremonies. *Paḍiññâṛṛi machchara târ tuṛannu* means opening the central western room.

The *kiṛakkina* and *tekkina* are open halls, or verandahs. The *pûmukham* is the portico, through which is the main entrance. It serves the purpose of a drawing-room. The ancient households described in these songs are of the *nâlu-pura* type, which retains the same features at the present day as in the days of old. Each house stands in a compound of its own, which is usually thickly planted with coco-nut and areca palms, jack fruit trees, plantains, etc. As one approaches the house the *paṭippura*, or gateway, stands conspicuous, reached by a flight of steps, leading to it from the bank of the green level paddy fields. The spacious compound is enclosed by a massive bank of earth which hems it in on all sides. A fence of bamboo or spiny cactus lines the entire circuit of the high wall. A broad, smooth walk well rammed and plastered with cowdung and charcoal leads to a broad open courtyard, kept neat and tidy in the same manner, fully exposed to the heat of the midday sun, where may be seen spread out to dry such produce as paddy, pepper, etc. The courtyard, where many a fight may have been waged in the past, is largely used as a recreation ground by the younger members of the household, and as a threshing floor in the harvest season, besides its uses for all social and ceremonial functions. This place is variously referred to in this song as the *maṇḍaka muṛṛam, paṭakaḷi muṛṛam*, etc., meaning, respectively, the yard in front of the open verandah, or the yard where the youngsters display their skill in the use of various weapons of war.

THE HISTORY OF THE PARAMÂRA MAHÂKUMÂRAS.

BY D. C. GANGULY.

(*Continued from page 194.*)

Before proceeding to build up the history of the Mahâkumâra family out of the above materials, several facts must first be carefully considered. According to the Pipliânagar grant, *Hariścandra obtained his dominion through the favour of Jayavarman.* The Bhopal grant, on the other hand, expressly states that Hariścandra's father, Lakṣmîvarman, made himself master of a principality by the force of his sword *when the reign of Jayavarman had come to an end.* It evidently follows from these two statements that Lakṣmîvarman and his son Hariścandra ruled over separate territories.[16] This finds strong corroboration in the fact that Udayavarman, the son of Hariścandra, is described by the Bhopal grant as succeeding to the throne of Lakṣmîvarman without the intervention of Hariścandra, who again excludes his father Lakṣmîvarman—in the Pipliânagar grant—as a ruler preceding him. A critical survey of the epigraphic records will show that all these are deliberate representations and not accidental omissions.

The fact that P. M. P. Jayavarman was the immediate successor of Yaśovarman, is borne out by Jayavarman's own inscription, the Pipliânagar grant of Hariścandra dated 1178 A.D., and the Bhopal grant of Udayavarman, 1199 A.D. But the inscriptions of Arjunavarman and Devapâla mention Ajayavarman instead of Jayavarman, as the successor of Yaśovarman. This leads me to think that Jayavarman was identical with Ajayavarman. Nothing is known as to the existence of enmity between Arjunavarman's family and the house of the 'Mahâkumâras,' which, as Professor Kielhorn contends, prevented the former

[16] Professor Kielhorn reviews the situation in quite a different light, and draws the following conclusions from the above materials :—

"Yaśovarman had three sons, Jayavarman, Ajayavarman, and Lakṣmîvarman. Soon after his succession (and certainly some time between Vikrama Sam. 1192 and 1200), Jayavarman was dethroned by Ajayavarman, who and whose successors then became the main branch of the Paramâra family in Mâlava, and continued to style themselves 'mahârâjas.' The third brother, Lakṣmîvarman, however, did not submit to Ajayavarman ; and, as stated in E, he succeeded by force of arms in appropriating a portion of Mâlava, which he and his son and grandson *de facto* ruled over as independent chiefs. At the same time, Lakṣmîvarman and, after him, his son and successor Hariścandra looked upon Jayavarman, though deposed, as the rightful sovereign of Mâlava, and, in my opinion, it is for this reason that Hariścandra, in the grant D., professes to rule by the favour of that prince, and that both Lakṣmîvarman and Hariścandra claim for themselves no higher title than that of Mahâkumâra, a title which was handed down to, and adopted by, even Lakṣmîvarman's grandson Udayavarman." (*I.A.*, vol. XIX, p. 348.)

Professor Hall propounds another theory regarding the succession that followed the death of Yaśovarman. He says :

"As Lakṣmîvarman sat on the throne with his sire, it is reasonable to suppose that he was the first-born. His father Jayavarman also speaks of himself as if a sovereign ruler. Lakṣmîvarman may have died while Hariścandra was still a child, and Jayavarman have acted as regent on behalf of his nephew, to whom the government eventually devolved from him ; if they did not administer it conjointly. Yet it is noticeable that Jayavarman granted away land at one period precisely as if he were the sole and substantive head of the state. Possibly the extreme youth of his ward prevented his being named at the time. Lakṣmîvarman being mentioned by his son, under the title of 'mahâkumâra,' and not as king, it may be that he deceased during the lifetime of Yaśovarman. Hariścandra designates himself in a similar manner, where he would certainly have called himself without qualification, sovereign, had he laid claim to undivided power. His complete style, in fact, is that which his father used as prince regent. Policy or some other motive may have dissuaded him from the style of full royalty, his hereditary right. It may therefore be conjectured that Jayavarman was still living in 1179 A.D." (*JAOS.*, vol. VII, p. 36.)

With humble submission to the above two most erudite scholars of Indian history, I beg to differ from them in their views. According to the evidence of the inscriptions, there were two ruling houses of the Mahâkumâras. I am inclined to believe that Ajayavarman was the same as Jayavarman. About this time the imperial Paramâra government became obscure, and the whole of Mâlwâ, with Dhârâ, became part of the Gujarât empire. Consideration of all these points has led me to view the situation in a different light, as has been given above.

from mentioning the name of Jayavarman in the genealogical list of the ruling monarchs of Mâlwâ. It may rather be inferred that there was a close alliance between the two houses, which subsequently helped the peaceful succession of Devapâla, the son of the Mahâkumâra Hariścandra, to the throne of Arjunavarman. If Professor Kielhorn is taken to be right in his assertion, then no reason can be offered why Devapâla failed to mention Jayavarman's name in his inscription. His father obtained his territory through the favour of Jayavarman, over which he himself probably ruled in the early years of his life. As a matter of fact, the names 'Jaya' and 'Ajaya' were used interchangeably in early times. The Câhamâna Jayadeva, king of Śâkambhari, was the immediate predecessor of Arṇorâja, who was a contemporary of the Caulukya Kumârapâla. He is mentioned in some of the early records of his family as Ajayadeva.[17] If all these things are taken into consideration, there can hardly be any doubt as to the identity of Jayavarman and Ajayavarman as one and the same king. Keeping these things in view the relation of the Mahâkumâras may be traced in the following way. Yaśovarman had two sons, Jayavarman, also known as Ajayavarman, and Lakṣmîvarman. Jayavarman, after his accession to the throne of his father, granted some territories to Lakṣmîvarman's son Hariścandra to administer on his behalf. When Ballâla conquered Mâlwâ after overthrowing Jayavarman, Lakṣmîvarman wrested a part of the old Paramâra kingdom and established there a government of his own. This shows that there were two houses of the Mahâkumâras which were intimately connected with each other and which ruled over different territories.

In the light of the above discussion, I shall now try to narrate the short history of these collateral branches of the Paramâra family. The rulers of these families are justified in calling themselves 'Mahâkumâras,' as they were members of the imperial house of Dhârâ. But why they continued to bear that subordinate title all through their reigns cannot be clearly explained. It may be suggested that they did not assume the title of independent kingship simply from motives of political expediency, in an endeavour to avoid hostility with their powerful enemies, the Caulukyas.

Hariścandra.

It has been noticed above that Jayavarman began his career as an independent monarch and ruled his dominion between the years 1138 and 1143 A.D. At the same time within this period he entrusted Hariścandra with the government of a portion of his kingdom. Hariścandra continued to rule over his territory even when the imperial Paramâra family was completely overthrown by Ballâla and Mâlwâ was, later on, conquered by Kumârapâla. At present we have only one copper-plate inscription of Hariścandra's reign, which was found in the village of Pipliânagar, in the Sujalpur pargana, Gwalior State, Central India.[18] It was issued on the occasion of a solar eclipse in Sam. 1235=1178 A.D. Its object is to record that Hariścandra, having bathed in the holy water of the Narmadâ, near the temple of the four-faced Mârkaṇḍeśvara, granted two shares of the registered rents of the village of Palasavâḍa to the learned Brâhmaṇ Daśaratha, son of the learned Sindhu. It is further stated that, on the full moon of Vaiśâkha of the same year, he gave the remaining shares of the above village, with the addition of the shares of both customary dues from the bâzâr below the fort of Guṇapura, to the Brâhmaṇ Malvinu, son of the learned Delu. These grants were communicated to the Government officers, the inhabitants, patels, Brahmaṇs and others of the villages of Mamati and Palasavâḍa, in the Madâpadra *pratijâgaraṇaka* of the Nilagiri *maṇḍala*, for their information.

Of the localities mentioned above, I am inclined to identify Nîlagiri with the modern Nîlgaṛh fort, south of the Vindhya, about a mile north of the Narmadâ.[19] Guṇapura seems

[17] *JASB.*, vol. LV, Part I, p. 4, v. 14. Cf. *Pṛthvîrâja-vijaya*, sarga, v. 85.

[18] *JASB*, vol. VII, p. 736.

[19] *Indian Atlas*, Sheet No 55B, A. 3.

to have been the modern Godurpura, on the south bank of the Narmadâ.[20] Palasavâḍâ is to be identified with the modern town of Palaswârâ, in the Khandesh District, Bombay Presidency, sixty-nine miles north of Malegaon. I am unable to identify Madâpadra and Mamati.

All this gives us an idea as to what constituted the dominion of Hariścandra. It comprised the western portion of the old Paramâra kingdom, south of the Vindhya. How long Hariścandra enjoyed his territory cannot be definitely ascertained. He ruled at least from 1144 to 1178 A.D. Devapâla and Udayavarman were his two sons, of whom the former seems to have succeeded to the throne. Devapâlâ later on assumed the sovereignty of Mâlwâ between the years 1215 and 1218 A.D., after the death of Arjunavarman.

Lakṣmîvarman.

Lakṣmîvarman, the son of Yaśovarman, was a powerful chief. His elder brother, Jayavarman, seems to have been killed in battle against the Caulukyas of Karṇâṭa. In that period of transition Lakṣmîvarman collected strength, and forcibly took possession of the eastern part of the Paramâra empire south of the Vindhya. An inscription[21] of his reign has been discovered. In Sam. 1200=1144 A.D., on the occasion of the eclipse of the moon, he reaffirmed the grant made by Yaśovarman in Sam. 1191, with a view to increasing the religious merit of his father.

Of the localities mentioned in the record, the village Vaḍauḍa may be identical with Vaḍauḍa of the Mandhata plate of Jayavarman II,[22] where it is described as a village in Mahuaḍapathaka. Professor Kielhorn is inclined to identify it with the modern village of Burud about three miles north-east of Satajuna, which lies 13 miles south-west of Mandhata.[23] As regards the rest of the localities, I cannot offer any suggestion.

Lakṣmîvarman died some time before 1184 A.D. and was succeeded by his grandson Udayavarman, the son of Hariścandra.

Udayavarman.

An inscription,[24] dated Sam. 1256=1199 A.D., of Udayavarman's reign has been discovered in a field at the village Ujjamun, in the Bhopal State. It records that, after bathing in the river Revâ (Narmadâ), at a place called Guvaḍaghaṭṭa, he granted the village of Gunaura to a Brâhmaṇ named Maluśarman, the son of Yajñadhara. The village granted was situated in Vodasira forty-eight, belonging to the Narmadâpura *pratijâgaraṇaka*, in the Vindhya *maṇḍala*. The *maṇḍalika* Kṣemvarâja was the *dutaka* of this grant.

Mr. Fleet[25] identifies Gunaura with the modern village of Ganora, seven miles south-west of Hoshangâbâd. Narmadâpura, according to him, is identical with the modern Hoshangâbâd district, and Guvaḍaghaṭṭa is the present village of Guaria, on the left bank of the Narmadâ. I think the modern Nemawar on the right of the bank of the Narmadâ represents the ancient Narmadâpura.

An inscription[26] of the reign of one Udayâditya, dated Sam. 1241=1184 A.D., is now lying in Bhopal. Another inscription[27] of the same chief, dated Śaka 1108=1186 A.D., is to be found in the ' vidyâmandira ' in Bhopal State. In the latter part of the twelfth century A.D., no king of the name of Udayâditya is known to have ruled in Bhopal. The Bhopal grant referred to above bears witness to the fact that about that time Udayavarman was ruling over the Hoshangâbâd district and a part of the Bhopal State. Under these circumstances, Udayâditya may very reasonably be identified with Udayavarman.

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[20] *Ibid.*, A. 4. The place is also mentioned in Vâkpati râja's grant dated V.S. 1036. (*I.A.*, vol. XIV, p. 160.)

[21] *I.A.*, vol. XIX, p. 351. [22] E.I., vol. IX, p. 121. [23] *Ibid.*, p. 120.

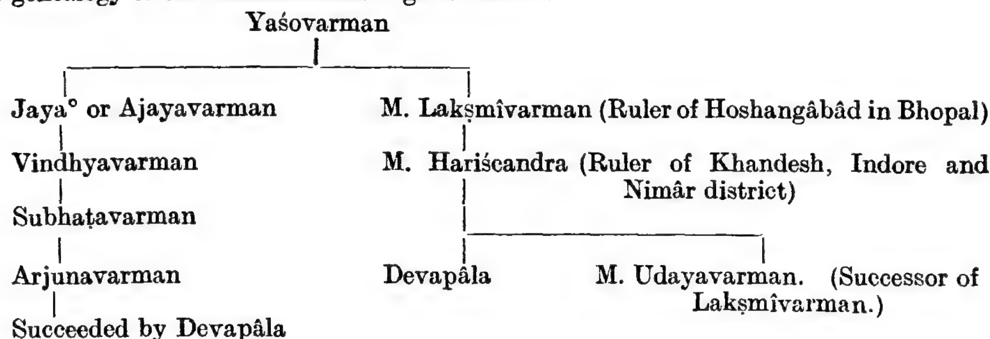
[24] *I.A.*, vol. XVI, p. 252. [25] *Ibid.*, p. 253. [26] *JAOS.*, vol. VII, p. 35.

[27] *Bhupâle bhûmipâl-o'yam-Udayâditya-pârthivah* |
Tenedaṃ nirmitaṃ sthânaṃ vasu-purṇeśvaraih Śake || (*Ibid.*)

The reign of Udayavarman seems to have extended into the early years of the thirteenth century A.D. Nothing is known about his successors. Devapâla, after his accession to the throne of Mâlwâ, issued a grant of land in the Hoshangâbâd district[28] in 1218 A.D. This shows that by that time the territory of Udayavarman had passed into his brother's hands.

From all the above circumstances, it follows that when in the fourth decade of the twelfth century A.D., the main Paramâra dynasty was overthrown, and a Gujarât sovereignty was established in its place, two junior branches of the former house under the designation of 'Mahâkumâra' continued to hold sway over the modern districts of Nimâr, Hoshangâbâd and Khandesh. But at last, early in the thirteenth century A.D., a member of this family succeeded to the main Paramâra kingdom, and reunited these branches to the main dynasty.

The genealogy of the Mahâkumâras is given below :—



THE VIJAYANAGARA CONQUEST OF CEYLON.

BY B. A. SALETORE, M.A., PH.D.

WHILE studying Indian epigraphy and other allied subjects under Dr. Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinghe, my attention was kindly drawn by him to certain statements made by Mr. H. W. Codrington in his book entitled *A Short History of Ceylon*. Mr. Codrington writes thus :—" Bhuvanaika Bâhu V. (1372–3 to 1406–7 A.D. at least) reigned in Gampola : he seems to have been little more than a figure-head. A Vijayanagar record of 1385–6 A.D. relates that the prince, Virûpâksha, conquered, among others, the Sinhalas, and presented crystals and other jewels to his father Harihara ; this may refer to the kingdom of Jaffna, which in the next century was tributary to the great empire on the mainland."[1] The source of information referred to by Mr. Codrington is the inscription No. 32 in the *Epigraphia Indica* (vol. III, p. 228).

Then again the writer says:—" In 1344 the king of Jaffna [i.e., Sapumal Kumârayâ, 'the son, actual or adopted, of Parâkrama Bâhu '][2] held a considerable part of the north of Ceylon, and the last half of the fourteenth century marked the zenith of his power : we have seen that for a short time the overlordship of the island was in his hands. By the beginning of the next century, if not at the end of the preceding, the kingdom was tributary to the great continental empire of Vijayanagar. Nunez states this definitely, and one of the regular titles of the emperor was ' who levied taxes from Îḷam '; the Sinhalese poems of the time also constantly speak of the people of Jaffna as Canarese. Valentyn mentions an invasion of the Canarese, that is of the Vijayanagar forces ; it is uncertain whether this was the occasion or the result of the conquest of Jaffna."[3]

Finally, Mr. Codrington, while dealing with the pluck and endurance of the Portuguese, writes thus :—" It is interesting to speculate what the history of Ceylon would have been

[28] *I.A.*, vol. XX, p. 310.

[1] H. W. Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, p. 84.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 92.

had the Portuguese not ventured to India. There seems to be little doubt that the kingdom of Vijayanagar would have collapsed earlier than it did, and that the south of India and with it possibly Ceylon would have fallen under Muhammadan rule."[4]

I intend to deal with these statements in the light of Vijayanagara history. To start with, we may dispense with the last statement quoted above as an instance of the views of writers unfamiliar with the history of the Muhammadan conquests of Southern India in general and of Vijayanagara monarchs in particular, from the first half of the fourteenth century till the end of the fifteenth century of the Christian era. Apart from the fact that speculation in history is a most undesirable pastime, it is difficult to make out what precisely the writer means when he says that " there seems to be little doubt that the kingdom of Vijayanagara would have collapsed earlier than it did," while dealing with the activities of the Portuguese. From the manner in which the writer speculates about the entry of the Portuguese into India, he would seem to suggest that Vijayanagara owed her stability to the support which she got from the Portuguese. This is far from being historically true. Instead of Vijayanagara acquiring vigour from the wise counsel and wealth of the Portuguese, it was the latter who were enabled to add to their material riches because of their prosperous trade with " Bisnaga," as they called Vijayanagara in those days. In fact, when Vijayanagara was beaten in the famous battle of Râkshasa-Taṅgaḍi, called in history by the wrong name of Tâḷikôṭa, Portugal as a maritime power in the East fell too. That is why Faria y Sousa, the Portuguese historian, writes thus :—" The trade of India was this year at a very low ebb, by reason of the desolation of the kingdom of Bisnagar, whose riches are equal to its extent, which is from the borders of Bengala to those of Cinde."[5] How sadly the blow which Vijayanagara received told also on the Portuguese is related by another writer, Sassetti, " who was in India from 1578 to 1588," and who says—

" The traffic was so large that it is impossible to imagine it ; the place was immensely large ; and it was inhabited by people rich, not with richness like ours, but with the richness of the Crassi and the others of those days........and such merchandise as diamonds, rubies, pearls......and besides all that, the horse trade. That alone produced a revenue in the city (Goa) of 120 to 150 thousand ducats, which now reaches only 6 thousand."[6] Couto confirms him :—" By this destruction of the kingdom of Bisnaga India and our State were much shaken ;........and the Custom House of Goa suffered much in its Revenue, so that day till now the inhabitants of Goa began to live less well......"[7] Therefore one does not see how the stability or prosperity of the great Hindu Empire could be affected by the advent of the Portuguese into India. As regards the crushing blow which Vijayanagara received in the battle of Râkshasa-Taṅgaḍi, and the cause which turned an almost brilliant victory into an unimaginable rout, the student of history cannot do better than read the account of the struggle as given by the Rev. Fr. Henry Heras in his book, *The Âravîḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagara.*[8]

We may now examine the second statement made by Mr. Codrington, viz., " By the beginning of the next century (i.e., the fifteenth), if not at the end of the preceding the kingdom was tributary to the great continental empire of Vijayanagara." Nuniz is the authority on whose testimony the writer has based his remark. I venture to suggest that a single statement found in a foreign traveller's account is in itself not sufficient to drive home an assertion, especially when such a statement deals with the title of a king. True, in this case it happens to be Nuniz who has left behind him a very accurate description of Vijayanagara. But one may be more cautious in accepting the opinion or assertion of Nuniz who, although

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 130-132.

[5] Faria y Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa* (trans. Stevens), II, p. 252.

[6] Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire* (*Vijayanagara*), p. 210 (1900 ed.)

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Heras, *The Aravîḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, ch. IX, p. 194 f.

he "states this definitely," is not always entirely reliable. These following inconsistencies in the narrative of Nuniz may be noted :—

1. Nuniz opens his account with an initial blunder. "In the year twelve hundred and thirty these parts of India were ruled by a greater monarch than had ever reigned."[9] Sewell commenting on this wrote :—"This date should be 1330. Nuniz was here about a century wrong."[10]

2. Nuniz gives the date of the battle of Raichur as 1522. Sewell remarks :—"I am bold enough to believe, and defend my belief, that when Nuniz fixed the day of the great fight as the new moon day of the month of May, 1522 A.D., he made a mistake in the year, and should have written '1520.' "[11]

3. Nuniz makes the last days of Prince Vîrabhadra a tragedy.[12] But in reality Prince Vîrabhadra was raised to the position of a viceroy.[13]

4. Nuniz relates that Vijaya Bhûpati "lived six years, and during this time did nothing worth relating."[14] But the late Mr. Gôpinâtha Rao proved that Vijaya Bhûpati reigned only for six months.[15]

5. Nuniz does not mention Madura in the list of provinces.[16] Madura, as is well known, was an integral part of the empire during his days.

6. Nuniz affirms that the Vijayanagara king was a Brâhman. "The king of Bisnaga is a Brâhman; every day he hears the preaching of a learned Brâhman......"[17] No authority is required to refute this incredible assertion.

7. Nuniz says that the king never gave receipts to the nobles when they brought revenue to the imperial treasury. "In this way the kingdom of Bisnaga is divided between more than two hundred captains who are all heathen, and according to the lands and revenues that they have so the king settles for them the forces that they are compelled to keep up, and how much revenue they have to pay him every month during the first nine days of the month of September. He never gives any receipts to them, only, if they do not pay, they are well punished and ruined, and their property taken away."[18] If tax-collectors granted receipts to the people, as an inscription dated 1558-9 A.D. informs us,[19] we may well assume that the system of granting receipts must also have been in vogue in the capital.

8. Nuniz gives an account of the first family of Vijayanagara[20] which is not corroborated, except as regards Bukka and Dêva Râya, by the inscriptions discovered till now relating to the Saṅgama dynasty.

9. Nuniz pictures to us Achyuta Râya in the light of a profligate villain. "Which king Chytarao [Achyuta Râya], after he ascended the throne, gave himself over to vice and tyranny. He is a man of very little honesty, and on account of this the people and the captains are much discontented with his evil life and inclinations...."[21] The Rev. Fr. Heras has shown that Nuniz cannot here be trusted at all.[22] A monarch who gave himself up to vice and ease would never have been able to conduct successful campaigns against powerful enemies.[23]

These are only some of the inaccurate statements in the account of Nuniz which depreciate the value of his work. Nevertheless it cannot be denied that as regards Dêva Râya and the tribute which he is said to have levied, Nuniz was perhaps correct, since he is corroborated by other evidence, both Hindu and foreign.

[9] Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 291. [10] *Ibid.*, note (2).

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 140 f. Mr. B. Veṅkôba Rao defends Nuniz. See his *Life of Vyâsarâya by Sômanâtha*, Intr., p. clvii. [12] Sewell, *ibid.*, pp. 319-320.

[13] Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. XI, Dg. 107, p. 71. [14] Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 302.

[15] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XV, p. 14; *Epigraphical Report for the Southern Circle for 1921*, p. 104.

[16] Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 384, note (4). [17] Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 390. [18] *Ibid.*, p. 389.

[19] Butterworth and Vêṇugôpal Chetty, *Inscriptions in the Nellore District*, vol. II, p. 952.

[20] Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 299 f. Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 112.

[21] Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 367. [22] Heras, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2, n. (2).

[23] No. 27 of the *Madras Epigraphical Report for 1911*.

But what may be noted is that a statement by a foreign traveller, especially when it relates to one of the titles assumed by the monarchs, is in itself insufficient for historical purposes. Likewise is a mere assertion in the inscriptions of the Hindu rulers themselves not of any value so long as it is not confirmed by external evidence. Thus for example, an inscription dated Śaka 1530 (1608-9 A.D.) tells us that Veṅkaṭapati Dêva " levied tribute from all countries and from Îḻam (Ceylon).[24] Vîra Pratâpa Śrîraṅga Dêva, we are told in an epigraph dated Śaka 1505 (1583-4 A.D.), " having taken every country was pleased to receive tribute from Ceylon."[25] The same is seen in an earlier inscription of the same monarch, dated Śaka 1499 (1577-8 A.D.).[26] This activity of Raṅga II in regard to Ceylon is mentioned together with his subjugation of the Kaḷḷars and Maravars in Koṅgu and Malai-nâḍu, according to an inscription dated 1583-4 A.D.[27] We are told in an epigraph of Śaka 1490 (1568-9 A.D.) that Vîra Vasanta, i.e., Veṅkaṭa I, conquered Ceylon.[28] Even Sadâśiva boasts of having " looted Ceylon," according to an inscription dated Śaka 1486 (1564-5 A.D.)[29] Then we have Sadâśiva, son of Raṅgappa Nâyaka Uḍaiyar, " who received tribute from Ceylon," in Śaka 1469 (1547-8 A.D.).[30] There is reference in Hindu literature of about this period to an invasion of Ceylon. Râma Râya Viṭṭhala and Tirumala, the first cousins of Râma Râya, " are given credit for having set up a pillar of victory on the Tâmraparṇî and even to have sent out an invasion to Ceylon."[31]

But these claims of the later Vijayanagara rulers cannot be accepted as authentic, since they cannot be substantiated by independent evidence. All that may be said about such assertions is that the later monarchs continued to prefix among their titles that relating to the conquest of and tribute from Ceylon, in memory of some real conquest of that island that must have taken place prior to their times. We have to find out how many times Ceylon was conquered by Vijayanagara kings.

Let us begin with Nuniz, whose account is certainly of great importance. He speaks of Sâḷuva Timma—" He is lord of Charamaodel and of Nagapatao, and Tamagor and Bomgarin and Dapatao, and Truguel and Caullin, and all these are cities ; their territories are very large, and they border on Ceylon."[32]

About Dêva Râya II. the chronicler relates the following :—" At his death he left a son called Deorao, who reigned twenty-five years....This (i.e., the revenue of eight hundred and fifty millions of gold) was no great sum, seeing that in his time the king of Coullao (Quilon) and Ceyllao (Ceylon) and Paleacate (Pulicat), and Peguu, and Tanacary (Tenasserim) and many other countries paid tribute to him."[33]

Then there is the account of a son of a " Pureoyre Deoro," called Ajarao : "..........he reigned forty-three years, in which time he was always at war with the Moors ; and he took Goa, and Chaul, and Dabull, and Ceillao, and all the country of Charamandell......"[34]

The fact that the viceroyalty of Sâḷuva Timma bordered on the coast of Ceylon is no evidence that the island was subject to Vijayanagara. But there is some epigraphical evidence which may enable us to understand the situation better. An inscription dated Śaka 1461 (1539-40 A.D.), found in the Râja-Gôpâla Perumâḷ temple at Tanjore, informs us that Achyuta Râya conquered Îḻam.[35] According to the late Mr. Veṅkayya, this assertion " had to be looked upon as a meaningless boast not uncommon with the later Vijayanagara kings."[36]

[24] No. 92 of *M.E.R.* for 1923.
[25] No. 128 of *M.E.R.* for 1918.
[26] No. 134 of *M.E.R.* for 1918.
[27] No. 30 of *M.E.R.* for 1905 ; *Madras Ep. Report for 1905*, p. 52.
[28] *Ep. Report for 1899-1900*, para 82.
[29] No. 451 of *M.E.R.* for 1905 ; No. 129 of 1905 ; *Archl. Sur. Rept.*, 1899-1900, para. 70 ; *Madras Ep. Report for 1905*, p. 52.
[30] No. 1 of *M.E.R.* for 1919.
[31] Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *The Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 16.
[32] Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 384.
[33] Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 302.
[34] Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 301.
[35] No. 40 of *M.E.R.* for 1897.
[36] *Madras Ep. Report for 1900*, p. 26.

But while noticing the inscriptions of the same monarch at Conjeeveram,[37] Mr. Veṅkayya remarked in the same breath—" They (i.e., the Conjeeveram inscriptions) repeat that Achyuta Râya planted a pillar of victory in the Tâmbraparṇî river, and received the daughter of the Pâṇḍyan king (in marriage). If this is true, his conquest of Ceylon as recorded in the Tanjore inscription cannot be absolutely false."[38] Perhaps we may not be far wrong in supposing that Achyuta Râya, who had conquered Travancore,[39] might also have been successful against Ceylon. The affairs in that island were favourable for foreign intervention. In 1521, Ceylon had been divided between the three brothers, Mâyâdunnê, Rayigam Bandâra, and Bhuvanaika Bâhu. The first received the Province of Sabaragamuva ; the second, the Wallâwitti ; the third, the Galle and Kalattûra districts, while the seaports were in the hands of Bhuvanaika Bâhu. To make matters worse, there was an independent king over the hill-country ; and, then, there was the Zamorin of Calicut and the Portuguese, as allies of the contending parties.[40] This confusion lasted from 1521 A.D. till 1539 A.D.,[41] when Mâyâdunnê was forced to make peace. There is nothing improbable in the victorious generals of Achyuta intervening in the affairs of the Ceylon rulers : one is inclined to doubt whether in the early years of Achyuta himself, or perhaps in the last days of the great Kṛishṇa Dêva Râya, there was not an attempt on the part of the Hindu rulers to get some control over Ceylon.

An inscription dated Śaka 1440, Chitrabhânu, says that Kṛishṇa Dêva Râya conquered Îḷam and every other country, and witnessed the elephant hunt.[42] From the wrong date of the inscription,[43] and from the use of the phrase, " one who witnessed the elephant hunt," we have to conclude that these two claims of Kṛishṇa Dêva Râya have to be attributed to one of his predecessors who, both according to Hindu and foreign sources, can be credited with a mission to Ceylon. This was Dêva Râya II (1419—1446), or his predecessor Vîra Vijaya (1412 or 1415—1468 A.D.).[44]

About this time Parâkrama Bâhu VI (1412 or 1415—1468 A.D.) was the ruler of Ceylon. Some of the principal events in the reign of this king were the sending of tribute to China in 1436 A.D. and in 1445 A.D., and again in 1459 A.D.; the conquest of Jaffna by Sapumal Kumârayâ ; the revolt of the hill-country under Jotiyo Sitâno ; and finally, the abdication of Parâkrama Bâhu in favour of his (daughter's) son, Vîra Parâkrama Bâhu.[45] Ceylon was evidently beset with internal dangers.

To revert to Nuniz. He informs us that Dêva Râya got tribute from the kings of Ceylon. Quilon, Pulicat, Pegu, and Tenasserim. We have, at the present stage of our investigations, no evidence to corroborate the remarks of Nuniz as regards Pegu and Tenasserim.[46] But about Ceylon the evidence of another traveller happily coincides with that given by Nuniz. 'Abdur-Razzâq, the Persian ambassador, while describing the plot in the Vijayanagara court to assassinate the emperor, says :—" The king then summoned to his presence his other brothers. and all the nobles ; but everyone of them had been slain, except the minister, the *Danâîk*, who previous to this dreadful tragedy, had gone to Silân. A courier was despatched to summon him, and inform him of what had transpired......When the *Danâîk* had returned from his tour, and had become acquainted with all that had transpired, he was astounded, and after being admitted to the honour of kissing the royal feet, he offered up his thanks for the safety of the king's person, and made more than usual preparation to celebrate the festival of *Mahanâwî*."[47]

(*To be continued.*)

37 Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, I, pp. 181-2; Nos. 49 and 50 of *M.E.R.* for 1900. 38 *Madras Ep. Report for 1900*, p. 26.

39 *Madras Ep. Report for 1909*, p. 119 ; *Madras Ep. Report for 1900*, pp. 27-8.

40 Codrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-7. 41 *Ibid.*

42 No. 146 of *M.E.R.* for 1903 ; *Madras Ep. Report for 1904*, p. 19.

43 The date ought to be Śaka 1444 (1522-3 A.D.), *M.E.R.*, *ibid.*

44 Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 404 ; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 112. 45 Codrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-93.

46 Cf. *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, vol. I, Part 2, p. 175.

47 Elliot, *History of India*, IV, pp. 116-7 (ed. Dowson). See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 93, for remarks on *mahânavamî*.

BOOK-NOTICES.

Epigraphia Indica, vol. XX, pt. 1 (Jan. 1929).

This issue contains two important articles, namely (1) by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel on the Prakrit inscriptions found at Nâgârjunakoṇḍa in the Guntur district, and (2) by the Editor on the stone inscription of the reign of Yaśovarmadeva found at Nâlandâ in the Paṭnâ district. The finds at the first-named site are of value from historical, geographical and architectural points of view. The epigraphical records refer to the same southern Ikhâku dynasty as is mentioned in the Jaggayyapeṭa inscriptions, with certain interesting additional details. Many of the sculptures recovered at this site are of fine workmanship, rivalling, if they do not even excel in some instances, the well known sculptures of Amarâvatî.

Dr. Vogel makes some interesting suggestions in connexion with the place names recorded. Some of the readings are, however, still doubtful, e.g., *Yavana* and *Palura*; and it is not clear whether the "*mahâchetiya* at Kaṇṭakasela" refers to the *mahâchetiya* excavated by Mr. Longhurst to the west of the Nâharâḷḷabôḍu hillock, or to a *stûpa* in some other locality, where Bodhisiri had dedicated a pious foundation. It seems possible that both this Kaṇṭakasela and the Katakasola mentioned in inscription No. 54 in Burgess's *Bud. Stûpas of Amaravati & Jaggayyapeta* (p. 106 and Pl. LXI) refer to the same place. Might this not be Ghaṇṭasâlâ, to the east of Śrikâkulam, near what appears to have been an old branch of the Kistna, in the present estuary of the river. It is improbable that Ptolemy's "emporium" Kantakossula could have been far from the mouth of the river. On his map he marks it by the coast, and, be it noted, to the east (i.e., north-east) of the mouth of the Maisôlos. Moreover, the alluvium of the delta has probably extended a considerable distance in the past 1800 years. Again, the features of the Nâgârjunakoṇḍa site do not seem to fit in with Hsüan-tsang's description of the capital of the *T'e-na-ka-che-ka* country. It is certainly tempting to associate the Śrîparvata mentioned with the monastery in which, according to the Tibetan tradition, Nâgârjuna spent the concluding part of his life, more especially that the isolated rocky hill overlooking the site on the north and north-west still bears the name Nâgârjunakoṇḍa, or 'Nâgârjuna's hill'; but the difficulty arises that Hsüan-tsang places Nâgârjuna's monastery to the south-west of the [Mahâ] Kosala country, "above 300 *li* from the capital." The suggestion that the Dôsara of Ptolemy (cf. the Dôsarênê of the *Periplus*) may be equated with Tosali is important, and, if accepted, will obviate several difficulties that arise in respect of other identifications suggested for Ptolemy's Dôsara.

The chief interest of the Nâlandâ inscription, as Dr. Hirânanda Śâstrî points out, lies in the fact that it leads to the conclusion that the name of the great ruler who broke the power of the Hûṇas in northern India in the sixth century was Yaśovarmmadeva, and that he was identical with the Yaśodharma of the Mandasor inscriptions.

ANNUAL REPORT, ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF H. E. H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS, FOR THE YEAR 1928-29.

In this report Mr. G. Yazdani, Director of Archæology, describes in some detail, with admirably reproduced plates, the old forts at Koilkoṇḍa and Bîdar, which were newly surveyed during the year. Both these sites present aspects of historical and architectural interest, the more salient of which have been indicated in the report. The question of water supply was always of paramount concern in the selection of ancient hill fortress sites, and both Bîdar and Koilkoṇḍa were well provided in this respect. One of the most striking features of the fort at Koilkoṇḍa was the system of water reservoirs, serving each stage on the hill and thus providing independent supplies of water for the garrisons occupying different levels in case intercommunication were cut off.

Several appendices follow the report. In App. A, Mr. N. L. N. Rao gives a transcription, with translation, of an inscription of the year 1551 in Telugu characters on a pillar in front of the gate of Koilkoṇḍa fort, the contents of which corroborate the account given by Firishta of the help rendered by the garrison to Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh in establishing himself on the throne of Golkoṇḍa. Mr. T. Streenivas, in App. B, describes the fort and other monuments at Udgir; while K. Muhammad Ahmad furnishes a note (App. C) on a number of Persian inscriptions at this site. App. D contains a detailed description of an important find of punch-marked coins from the Karimnagar district, of which 39 specimens have been figured on Pl. XVI, which will be useful in the future when the much-needed intensive research into the significance of the signs on this ancient form of currency is carried out.

THE GAVÎMAṬH AND PÂLKÎGUṆḌU INSCRIPTIONS OF AŚOKA, edited by R. L. TURNER, M.C., M.A., Litt.D. Hyderabad Archæological Series No. 10, 1932.

These inscriptions, which present another version of Aśoka's Minor Edict, differing in some interesting respects from the seven other records known from Rûpnâth, Sâsarâm, Bairâṭ, Maskî, Brahmagiri, Śiddâpura and Jaṭiṅgarâmeśvara, have been published with commendable promptitude; and the Department is to be congratulated on having secured the services of Prof. Turner, who has edited and translated the texts in a very thorough manner, describing at length the dialectal features occurring and recording notes on the phonology and grammar.

Of the two inscriptions, that of Gavîmaṭh is complete, while that of Pâlkîguṇḍu is mostly obliterated, but the characters that remain legible show that it was probably a replica of the other. Fortunately the Gavîmaṭh record, like that of Rûpnâth, is also completely legible—all others being defective in this respect. Its most interesting features are that, besides adding a word or two to the Aśokan vocabulary, it maintains the distinction of *r* and *l* (thus differing from the northern group) and is unique in its treatment of Sk. *ṇ*, which appears, both as intervocalic and initial, as *ṇ*. Prof. Turner shows reason for thinking that this writing of *ṇ* represents a reality of pronunciation. This excellent memoir, with its abundance of illustrative plates, has been admirably produced by the Oxford University Press.

Pâlkîguṇḍu and Gavîmaṭh are the names of two rocky hills near Kopbâl in the extreme south-west corner of H. E. H. the Nizâm's Dominions. Reference has already been made to these inscriptions above (vol. LXI, p. 39), where a map will be found showing this and other sites in southern India where Aśokan inscriptions have been discovered up to this time.

C. E. A. W. O.

THIRTEEN TRIVANDRUM PLAYS ATTRIBUTED TO BHÂSA. Translated into English by A. C. WOOLNER and LAKSHMAN SARUP. Vol. I. (Panjab University Oriental Publications, No. 13.) viii + 200 pp. Oxford University Press, 1930.

The thirteen plays discovered some twenty years ago by the late MM. Gaṇapati Śâstrî and ascribed by him to Bhâsa have given rise to a lively controversy concerning their authorship. Though prominent authorities like Professor F. W. Thomas still seem to take it for proved that these plays are in some way or other intimately connected with the somewhat nebulous Bhâsa, the researches and argumentations of Messrs. Barnett and Pisharoti have made it tolerably clear at least to the present writer that these works have had nothing whatsoever to do with Bhâsa. But whoever was their author, or even if they be simply stage versions prepared by wholly unknown authors, they are by no means devoid of interest. As for beauties of language and sentiment they cannot, of course, vie with the great plays of Kâlidâsa, Bhavabhûti and others; still, although they contain not a few quite insipid passages—as, e.g., the prelude of the first act of the *Pañcarâtra*—they are also able to exhibit quite a number of beautiful ones which betray a not inconsiderable poetical genius. Thus it was a very fortunate idea of Professors Woolner and Sarup to join in presenting us with a complete English translation of these thirteen dramas.

The first volume contains the translations of the *Pratijñâ-Yaugandharâyaṇa*, the *Svapna-Vâsavadattâ*, the *Daridra-Cârudatta*, the *Pañcarâtra*, the *Madhyamavyâyoga*, and the *Pratimânâṭaka*. The translated text makes easy and agreeable reading and generally adapts itself quite closely to the Sanskrit, although there may, in one or more passages, be a very few inadvertences. We shall allow ourselves to make a very few unimportant remarks which are in no way meant to detract from our high opinion of this able piece of work.

P. 111.—The words *agnir. . . .amarottamamukham* are very unhappily rendered by "Fire at the head of the greater deities"; they should be translated "Agni, the mouth of the great gods."

P. 112 (and p. 134).—Read Rudra instead of Kudra.

P. 119.—V. 51 scarcely tallies with the *Mahâbhârata*, as there it is stated that Bhîma slew the Kîcakas with the stem of a palm-tree.

P. 134.—In v. 70 we find a *Mâdrîsuta* (rendered by "Mâdrî's sons" in the translation) mentioned, i.e., either Nakula or Sahadeva. Thus the statement on p. 107, that neither of them is mentioned in the play, is not quite correct.

P. 137.—*Âpaskara* (which is generally met with in the form *apaskara*) does not mean "car" but rather "wheel," cp. Pâṇini, vi, 1, 149. The problem of this and connected words I hope soon to deal with in another article.

P. 149.—Whether *madhu* in v. 26 means "wine" or rather "honey" seems doubtful (cp. v. 4, where Ghaṭotkaca is described as having yellow (*piṅgala*) eyes).

P. 150.—Why there should be a play on *dîrghâyu* and *Vâyu*, I fail to understand; Vâyu, of course, was the father of Bhîma, and the old Brâhmaṇ here wishes him an eternal life like that of his own sire.

P. 152.—In v. 43 of Act I, *Śakraḥ Śaktidharaḥ*, of course, does not mean "Indra the Mighty," but "Indra and Skanda."

P. 154.—With the expression *Dhârtarâṣṭravanadavâgniḥ* cp. the quotations from the *Mahâbhârata* given in the *VOJ.*, XX, 332 f.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGY FOR THE YEAR 1929, published by the Kern Institute, Leyden. 12¼×9¼ in.; pp. vii+140, with 8 plates in collotype and 10 illustrations in the text. Leyden, 1931.

In this volume the bibliography proper contains references to the contents of 731 periodicals, books and articles dealing with matter of archæological interest relating to India and Netherlands India, as well as Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Indo-China and Japan, arranged categorically under appropriate headings, adding extracts from reviews in the case of the more important matter. The editors continue the commendable practice of prefacing the

bibliography with a brief survey of the most important explorative work carried out during the year "in the domain of Indian archæology in the widest sense." Five special contributions of this nature appear. In the first of these M. Sylvain Lévi describes how he came to interpret the sculptures of the buried basement of the Barabuḍur by the light of a manuscript of the *Karma-vibhaṅga* which he had found in Nepal in 1922. In the second M. Victor Goloubew gives a brief account of the clearing of the site of the Prah Khan temple, near Angkor Thom, and of the excavations at Prà-Kiẹu in Annam, now identifiable with the site of the ancient capital of Champa. In the third Dr. J. Pearson describes the results of some recent excavations at Anurâdhapura in Ceylon, where, besides the uncovering of further structures in brick and stone, some potsherds bearing Brâhmî characters of the third century B.C. are said to have been found. The next section reviews the salient results of the explorations carried out by Mr. H. Hargreaves at Mastung and Nâl in Balûchistân, where links were found with the prehistoric "Indus" civilisation. The last section deals with the important explorations by Prof. E. Herzfeld in southern Kurdistân and in Lûristân, especially at sites near Nihâwand, where he has recovered ceramic ware which he thinks clearly precede Susa II, and the date of which he assigns confidently to between 3000 and 2750 B.C. Other objects were found to bear marked affinities to finds from Crete and Ur. The following striking passage quoted from a paper communicated by Prof. Herzfeld to the *Illustrated London News* in 1929 may well be reproduced :—

> "It appears that there existed, at the dawn of history, a homogeneous civilisation, created and developed by peoples of kindred race, which extended from the west of Asia Minor, across the north of Syria and Mesopotamia, Armenia, and the whole of the Iranian tableland, as far as to the borderlands of India; a civilisation which was opposed to and different from the oldest civilisation of the alluvial plains of the Euphrates and Tigris basin —namely, that of the Sumerians."

It would appear, further, that Prof. Herzfeld is satisfied that Susa I developed out of the neolithic civilisation of the sites found by him at Persepolis, while Susa II originated from the early bronze age culture of Nihâwand region.

The plates are excellently printed, as hitherto; the index is full and carefully prepared : in fact the whole volume betokens efficiency and scholarship. All interested in Eastern archæology should keep this record on their shelves.

C. E. A. W. O.

ZUR INDISCHEN APOLOGETIK, by HANNS OERTEL. Verlag von W. Kohlhammer. Stuttgart, 1930.

The authoritativeness and eternity of the Vedas, their revelation by the godhead and other similar questions have been subjects of lively discussion in India from very ancient times. The fullest discussion of them is found in Jaimini's *Mîmâṁsâ-sûtras*, and among later works, in Śabara's commentary thereon and in Sâyaṇa's introduction to his commentary on the *Ṛgveda-saṃhitâ*. Less full discussions are found in Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Brahma-sûtras* and also in the *Nyâya-sûtras* and *Sâṃkhya-sûtras* and commentaries thereon. The authors of the two last-named Sûtra works however hold that the Vedas, though authoritative, are not eternal, while the followers of the Mîmâṁsâ school (Jaimini, Śaṅkara, Sâyaṇa) hold that the Vedas are eternal. A brief account of the views of all these authors was given by W. Muir nearly eighty years ago in volume 2 of his *Original Sanskrit Texts*.

In the book under review, the author has given a succinct account of the views in this matter of the Mîmâṁsakas. Taking as basis the discussion in Sâyaṇa's introduction, he has rearranged the matter under four headings and supplemented it with details from Śabara's and Śaṅkara's commentaries and Yâska's *Nirukta* in all places where Sâyaṇa has not reproduced them. The author's rendering of the Sanskrit sentences is generally good, but is capable of improvement in some places. Thus, for instance, *bhâvâḥ* (p. 1, n. 2) does not denote 'Wesenheiten' but 'Dinge'; similarly *padârthâḥ* too (p. 3, n. 1) denotes 'Dinge' and not 'Wortbedeutungen'; *âkhyâyikâ* (p. 10) denotes 'story' and not 'Dialog'; *pratigraha* (p. 47) signifies 'receipt of gifts' and not 'Empfang von Almosen'; *kiṃ naś chinnam* (pp. 49-50) means 'What is cut off from us ?' i.e., 'what do we lose thereby ?' and not 'Wie tut das (unserem Argumente) Abbruch ?'; and *jarbharî* (*bhartârau*) and *turpharîtû*(*hantârau*) do not signify (p. 67) 'die zwei Bruder' and 'die zwei Mordenden,' but 'the two masters' and 'the two slayers.'

Such instances, however, are very few, and on the whole the book is one that may be warmly recommended to readers as conveying a faithful idea of what Sâyaṇa and Śabara have said about Indian apologetics.

The usefulness of the book is enhanced by several indexes, one of which (no. III) contains a list of unidentified *Śruti* passages. The passage *ugro ha bhujyam*, that is included therein, stands without doubt for *tugro ha bhujyum*, which is the beginning of RV. 1. 116. 3, that relates the story (*âkhyâyikâ*) of how the Aśvins saved Tugra. With the unidentified passage *na caitad vidmo yadi brâhmaṇâ vâ smo*, one should compare *Mait. Saṃ*. 1. 4. 1 (p. 60, line 3 f.).

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.

THE VIJAYANAGARA CONQUEST OF CEYLON.

BY B. A. SALETORE, M.A., PH.D.

(*Continued from page 219.*)

Who was the "Danaik" who went to the frontier of Ceylon? And what was the object of his mission? The word "Danaik" is evidently a shortened form of *daṇṇâyaka*, or *daṇḍanâyaka*, the official designation given to a commander in pre-Vijayanagara and Vijayanagara days. The late Mr. Veṅkayya wrote the following: "The mahâpradhâna Lakkaṇṇa Uḍaiyar mentioned in an inscription of Dêva Râya at Tîrthamalai (666 of 1905) was perhaps the same Lakkaṇṇa Daṇṇâyaka, 'lord of the Southern Ocean,' mentioned in paragraph 31, Part II, of the last year's Annual Report. The 'Danaik' who was vizier and who went on a voyage to the frontier of Ceylon during the reign of Dêva Râya II (Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 74) might also have been the same."[48] The late Mr. Kṛishṇa Śâstri, however, took this assumption in the light of a fact. For Mr. Śâstri wrote—"One of his (i.e., Dêva Râya's) ministers was Daṇḍanâyaka Lakkaṇṇa, who is stated to have gone on a voyage to the frontier of Ceylon."[49] Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, in his introduction to the *History of the Nâyaks of Madura* by Mr. Satyanâtha Iyer, writes: "The next time that the viceroyalty of Madura comes into prominence is under Dêva Râya II, when we hear of two brothers, known by the names Lakkaṇa and Mâdaṇa, in charge of the whole of the Tamil country, the former held high office at headquarters, probably with the government of Madura as his province, the administration of which he carried on by deputy. At one period about 1440 he is found in the south, and is given the title of 'Viceroy of Madura,' and 'Lord of the Southern Ocean'......From this high commission Lakkaṇa was recalled back to the headquarters, after a defeat sustained by the imperial armies at the hands of the Muhammadan Sultans of the Dekkan, to reform the army, and to reorganise the resources with a view to final victory. It is apparently this Danaik (Daṇḍanâyaka) that is spoken of in such glowing terms by the Muhammadan traveller, 'Abdur-Razzâq, who was in Vijayanagara in 1442-1443."[50] Mr. Śrîkaṇṭha Śâstri also writes to the same effect: "Lakkaṇṇa justly styles himself the 'increaser of the wealth of Dêva Râya, and *saptâṅga-râjya-vardhana-kaḷâdhara* and *unnata keḷeya* (intimate) friend of Dêva Râya.' We know from other sources that he conquered Ceylon and Gulbarga."[51]

On what grounds this identification of Lakkaṇṇa with the Danaik mentioned by 'Abdur Razzâq rests cannot be made out. Evidently the lead given by the late Mr. Veṅkayya has been implicitly followed. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar does not give the source of his information.[52] The two brothers, Lakkaṇṇa and Mâdaṇṇa, were no doubt governors over the Tamil country during the latter part of their career: but we may acquaint ourselves with their history since it will be of some use to us hereafter. Lakkaṇṇa comes into prominence as the great minister in charge of the Mûḷbâgal kingdom in 1416 A.D.[53] In 1428 A.D. Lakkaṇṇa Oḍeyar granted a *dharma-śâsana* to Siṅgarasa's son Annadâtâ.[54] In 1430 A.D. he was still (under Dêva Râya) governor over Mûḷbâgal.[55] In the next year we have some information about his lineage: the epigraph styles him as well as his brother Mâdaṇṇa, Heggaḍe-dêvas of

48 *Mad. Ep. Report* for 1906, p. 64.

49 *Ibid.* for 1916, p. 139.

50 Dr. S. K. Aiyangar in his introduction to Mr. S. Iyer's *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, p. 6.

51 Śrikaṇṭha Śâstri, *Indian Antiquary*, LVII, p. 78.

52 The authority obviously is the Pâṇḍyan Chronicle, as given in Taylor's *Oriental Historical MSS.*, I, p. 37. Cf. Heras, *Âraviḍu Dynasty*, pp. 107-8.

53 *Ep. Car.*, X. Mb. 7, p. 72. There is a Lakaṇṇa Oḍeyar mentioned from about 1397 A.D. till 1402 A.D. in the reign of Harihara II, *Ep. Car.*, IV. Hs. 46, p. 88; *Ep. Car.*, V. Cn., 175, p. 201; *Mysore Arch. Report for 1911-2*, p. 47. If this dignitary could be identified with the general we are dealing with, the latter must have been quite old when he terminated his official career as "Lord of the Southern Ocean."

54 *Ep. Car.*, X. Kl. 104, p. 31.

55 *Ibid.*, Bp. 72, p. 152.

the Vishṇuvardhana *gôtra*, Vommâyamma's sons Lakkaṇṇa Daṇṇâyaka and Mâdaṇṇa.[56] Another inscription of the same year repeats the same information, but gives to Mâdaṇṇa the rank of a *daṇṇâyaka*.[57] In 1433 A.D. Lakkaṇṇ Oḍeyar was placed over Têkal,[58] which in the next year he made over, by order of Dêva Râya, to Sâḷuva Gôpa Râya.[59] In 1435 A.D. both Lakkaṇṇa and Mâdaṇṇa appear in their capacity of *oḍeyars*.[60] From 1416 A.D. till 1435 A.D., therefore, Lakkaṇṇa is mentioned only as a great minister,[61] *oḍeyar*, and *daṇṇâyaka*.

Now he has been identified with the 'Danaik' mentioned by 'Abdur-Razzâq solely because he was in charge of the southern division as the 'Lord of the Southern Ocean.' It seems this is enough to prove that the conjectures of the late Mr. Veṅkayya were correct in the main. But I do not believe that such an identification is tenable. The point to be noted is whether Lakkaṇṇa could ever have been in the Vijayanagara court in 1442-1443 A.D., when the "guilty prince" was almost on the point of assassinating the emperor. This brings us to the history of Lakkaṇṇa as the 'Lord of the Southern Ocean' (*dakshiṇa-samudrâdhipati*). The earliest date given to him as the 'Lord of the Southern Ocean' is Śaka 1360 (1438-9 A.D.), when a gift was made for the merit of his brother Mâdaṇṇa Oḍeyar.[62] He is given the rank of a minister in this record. From that date till Śaka 1366 (A.D. 1444-5) he was 'Lord of the Southern Ocean.'[63]

The question that may be asked is whether Lakkaṇṇa was the vizier whom the emperor summoned when his life was in danger. 'Abdur-Razzâq is our main authority in this matter. He gives us an account of the malicious attempts made by certain Hormuzians to bring him under the displeasure of the emperor, and then speaks of an expedition that was sent against Gulbarga : "About this time the *Danâîk*, or minister, who had treated me with the greatest consideration, departed on an expedition to the kingdom of Kulbarga, of which the cause was, that the king of Kulbarga, Sultân Alâu-d-dîn Ahmad Shâh, upon learning the attempted assassination of Deo Râî, and the murder of the principal officers of State, was exceedingly rejoiced, and sent an eloquent deputy to deliver this message......" (which was a demand for 700,000 *varâhas*, with war as an inevitable alternative).

Some more information is given about this 'Danaik' in a later passage : "The king had appointed as a temporary substitute of the Brâhman *Danâîk* a person named Hambah Nurîr, who considered himself equal to the *wazîr*."[64]

When did this plot to assassinate the emperor take place ? This can be determined by ascertaining where 'Abdur-Razzâq was when he narrated the story. He was then at Calicut. He had set out on the 21st of May 1441,[65] and eight days after touching at the port of Saur,[66] he reached Calicut. He was in Calicut from the close of Jumâda-l-âkhir till the beginning of Zî-hijja[67]—that is to say, from Sunday, 4th November 1442, till 2nd April 1443.[68] That he was not at the Hindu capital when the dastardly incident took place is clear from what he says : "At the time that the writer of this history was detained at the city of Kâlikot, an extraordinary and singular transaction occurred in the city of Bîjânagar."[69] The date of his

[56] *Ep. Car.*, Mb. 96, p. 100.
[57] *Ibid.*, Mb. 2, p. 71.
[58] *Ibid.*, Bp. 87, p. 154.
[59] *Ibid.*, Mr. 1, p. 154, n. (1).
[60] *Ibid.*, Mr. 4, p. 156.
[61] No. 666 of *Mad.Ep.R.* for 1905.
[62] No. 141 of *M.E.R.* for 1903 ; *M.E.R.* for 1904, p. 18.
[63] No. 26 of *M.E.R.* for 1913 ; No. 566 of *M.E.R.* for 1914, dated Śaka 136 (2) expired, Raudra ; *M.E.R.* for 1905, pp. 22, 50 ; No. 100 of *M.E.R.* for 1911, dated Śaka 1366, Rudhirôdgârin.
[64] Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 121-122.
[65] *Ibid.*, p. 95.
[66] *Ibid.*, p. 98.
[67] *Ibid.*, p. 102.
[68] Swâmikaṇṇu Pillai, *The Indian Ephemeris*, V, pp. 87-88.
[69] Elliot, *ibid.*, p. 115.

arrival at Vijayanagara is thus given by him: "The author of this history, who arrived at Bîjânagar, at the close of Zî-hijja, took up his abode in a lofty mansion which had been assigned to him."[70] That is to say, he was in Vijayanagara on Tuesday, 30th April 1443 A.D.[71]

From the above we conclude the following:—

(*a*) that the attempt on the life of the emperor took place between November 1442 and April 1443;

(*b*) that the 'Danaik' was immediately summoned by the emperor by means of a courier;

(*c*) that the 'Danaik' was a Brâhman, and that he had gone to the frontier of Ceylon prior to the incident mentioned by 'Abdur-Razzâq;

(*d*) that the 'Danaik' had gone on a tour, which he terminated to hasten at once to the royal presence;

(*e*) that he soon after led an expedition against Gulbarga; and

(*f*) that during his absence a mean and low Hindu officer was appointed as his substitute.

We have to see whether these facts agree with the few facts which we have gathered about Lakkaṇṇa Daṇṇâyaka. We know that Lakkaṇṇa was the 'Lord of the Southern Ocean' from 1438 A.D. There is no evidence to suggest that he was ever recalled in 1442-3 A.D. by the emperor from his southern command. The fact that he was an intimate friend of the emperor has nothing to do with our attempts to identify him with the 'Danaik' mentioned by 'Abdur-Razzâq. The Persian ambassador certainly does not enlighten us on the intimacy which existed between the minister ('Danaik') and the emperor. The latter summoned the former because he was the only one who had escaped the sword of the assassins. This leads us to infer that the 'Danaik' must have been in the vicinity of the Court. But 'Abdur-Razzâq is positive about the courier having been despatched to the 'Danaik,' and about the latter having gone on a tour. This seeming inconsistency does not invalidate the evidence of the Persian ambassador. The fact that the 'Danaik' was within an appreciable distance of the capital is significant. Could a general placed in the extreme south of the peninsula have hurried to the capital to save the life of his master when the latter was amidst a band of assassins? We have only to realize the nature of the medieval conveyances and roads to understand the impossibility of Lakkaṇṇa ever having been near the emperor at the critical moment. Moreover, the 'Danaik' is mentioned by 'Abdur-Razzâq as having gone on an expedition to Gulbarga. If the expedition is placed between 1443-44 A.D.,[72] and if Lakkaṇṇa is identified with the 'Danaik' of the Persian ambassador, it cannot be seen how Lakkaṇṇa could have led an army against Gulbarga in the north and have been in the south almost at the same time. It is not unreasonable to suppose that Dêva Râya II must have had more than one Daṇṇâyaka whom he could despatch to Gulbarga. Finally, we may dispense with the idea that the 'Danaik' of 'Abdur-Razzâq was Lakkaṇṇa when we examine the community to which the latter belonged. Lakkaṇṇa is said to have been of the Vishṇuvardhana *gôtra*, and the son of Vommâyamma. In what sense the name of Vishṇuvardhana is here introduced, whether he is the famous Vishṇu of the Hoysalavaṁśa, cannot be determined; but there is no denying the fact that if Lakkaṇṇa was indeed a Brâhman, his *sûtra* and *śâkha* would have been given, especially when his *gôtra* has been mentioned in the inscription. How far a Heggaḍe-dêva could be termed a Brâhman is also a matter that is questionable. And if Lakkaṇṇa really belonged to the family of the Hoysalas, it is not improbable that he came of a stock that was not Brâhman. These considerations lead one to the conclusion that the 'Danaik' of 'Abdur-Razzâq cannot be identified in any sense with Lakkaṇṇa

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70 Elliot, *ibid.*, p. 112.

71 Swâmikaṇṇu, V, p. 88.

72 Firishta confirms the Persian traveller about this expedition. Firishta, trans. Briggs, II, pp. 430-434.

Daṇṇâyaka, although the latter was a great friend of the emperor, a minister, a general, and the 'Lord of the Southern Ocean.' I think that the vizier mentioned by 'Abdur-Razzâq was Iraṇṇa Daṇṇâyaka, who is called in 1415 A.D., the great minister and 'Lord of the Southern Ocean.'[73] There is nothing improbable in Iraṇṇa Daṇṇâyaka having been present at court when the guilty prince was put to death by the infuriated mob; although it must be confessed that for the present we have no evidence to affirm that he was a Brâhman and that he was despatched to Gulbarga. If it could be proved that Iraṇṇa was the minister-general referred to by the Persian ambassador, then the mission which took him to the frontier of Ceylon is to be placed in 1415 A.D., or thereabouts, a date which falls within the reign of Vîra Vijaya, the predecessor of Dêva Râya II.[74]

The causes which prompted Iraṇṇa Daṇṇayâka to go to Ceylon can only be conjectured for the present. There was the need of preserving the interests of the pearl trade in the south, and there was the question of consolidating the effects of the earliest conquest of Ceylon made by a Vijayanagara prince.[75]

It was under Virûpâksha that Ceylon was conquered. This fact is gathered from inscriptions as well as literature. The situation in that island was not unfavourable for the Vijayanagara rulers. The northern part of Ceylon including the port of Puttalam was under the king of Jaffna. A Muhammadan pirate was the master of Colombo. The capital was distracted with civil commotion, the kingdom being ruled by a senior and a junior sovereign at the same time. There was the strife between the great minister Alagakkônâra and Ârya Chakravarti, the king of Jaffna, during the reigns of the kings Jaya, Bhuvanaika Bâhu IV, and Vikrama Bâhu III. Matters did not improve with the accession of Bhuvanaika Bâhu V. Then we are told that in the course of the conflict between Vîra Bâhu (I) and Vîra Bâhu II, Vîra Alakêśvara fled to India.[76] Whether this flight of Vîra Alakêśvara had anything to do with the appearance of Vijayanagara troops in Ceylon is a point that can only be determined by future research. It is not improbable that Vîra Alakêśvara might have sought the help of the only powerful Hindu king of southern India, the Vijayanagara monarch. However that may be, there are inscriptions which mention the conquest of Ceylon, and the tribute levied from that island, by Prince Virûpâksha. An inscription dated only in the cyclic year Bhâva, Paṅguṇi, 10, informs us that Virupaṇṇa Oḍeyar, son of Harihara, levied tribute from Ceylon.[77] Evidently this Virupaṇṇa can only be Virûpâksha, son of Harihara II. In the drama called *Nârâyaṇa-vilâsa* composed by that prince, it is said that he planted a pillar of victory in the island of Siṁhala.[78] But the two important inscriptions of this prince relating to the conquest of Ceylon are the Âlampûṇḍi plates of Śaka 1305 and the Ariyûr plates of Śaka 1312. In the former we are told that having conquered the kings of Tuṇḍira, Chôḷa, and Pâṇḍya and the Siṁhalas, he presented crystals and other jewels to his father.[79] The date of this grant is thus given—" .... in the Śaka year one thousand three hundred and five, on the lucky day of the auspicious time of the Pushya Saṁkrânti in the Raktâkshin year."[80] The cyclic year, however, does not correspond to

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73 *Ep. Car.*, IX, An. 85, p. 119.

74 Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 404; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 112. Here we may guess that the "Ajarao" of Nuniz may have been a corruption of Vijaya Râya.—B. A. S.

75 The relations of a famous Vijayanagara viceroy, Viśvanâtha, with Ceylon, together with other matters relating to that island, will be dealt with in a subsequent paper on "The Foreign Policy of the Vijayanagara Kings with the Neighbouring States."—B. A. S.

76 Codrington, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

77 No. 275 of *M.E.R.* for 1917.

78 Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *The Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 53.

79 *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 228.

80 *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 229.

1305.[81] It is doubtful whether we have to ascribe this event mentioned in the Âlampûṇḍi plates to the end of Śaka 1306. The other document, the Ariyûr plates, also mentions the conquest of Siṁhala-dvîpa. This record is dated in the Śaka year 1312.[82] The drama *Nârâyaṇa-vilâsa* and the Ariyûr plates, therefore, agree in ascribing the conquest of Siṁhala-dvîpa to Virûpâksha. But strangely enough in the Śoraikkâvûr plates of the same prince, dated Śaka 1308 (1386-7 A.D.), no mention is made of the conquest of Ceylon at all.[83] The reason for the silence of the engraver of this record, which is dated earlier than the Ariyûr plates and later than the Âlampûṇḍi grants, is not quite apparent. That, however, does not confute the evidence supplied by the three inscriptions and the drama written by Virûpâksha himself. There is reason to believe, therefore, that Siṁhala-dvîpa was subject to Vijayanagara in the days of Virûpâksha ; and it is this fact which is commemorated in the inscriptions of the later Vijayanagara monarchs who appended the title, ' One who levied tribute from Îḷam,' to their names.

TO THE EAST OF SAMATAṬA.

BY NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA, M.A.

OF late, MM. Padmanâtha Bhaṭṭâcârya Vidyâvinôda has published a number of papers in various journals[1] on the identification of the six kingdoms to the east of Samataṭa (roughly speaking, south-eastern Bengal), as were heard of, but not actually visited by Hiuen Tsang, on account of their being ' hemmed in by mountains and rivers.' The conclusions arrived at by him as to the last three of these, viz., *I-shang-na-pu-lo*, *Mo-ha-chan-p'o*, and *Yen-mo-na-chou*, which he identifies respectively with Maṇipura State, Bhamo, and Jambudvîpa, or Lower Burma, appear to be wholly beside the mark, and may safely be discarded, for we now possess definite knowledge of what was intended by ' *Mo-ha-chan-p'o*.' But this constitutes no reason why we should withal throw overboard the results of his investigation as to the first two, viz., *Shih-li-ch'a-to-lo*, restored as Śrî-kṣêtra, and *Ka-mo-lang-ka*, restored as Kâmalaṅkâ. In case of the latter, in particular, it is worse than idle to deny its being the same as Comilla, alias Kâm-lâk, alias Kamalâṅka.

So far as *Shih-li-ch'a-to-lo* is concerned, Mr. Bhaṭṭâcârya has not merely accumulated arguments, but adduced substantial proofs as well, to identify it, or retain its original identification, with Sylhet, as against Prome, which is the version of the rival theory that held the field in the meantime. The description given is that it is to the north-east of Samataṭa, and situated on the borders of a great sea.[2] The only difficulty of accepting it as one with Sylhet had been to obtain first-hand evidence that the vast marshes, called *hâôr*,[3] in and

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81 The late Mr. Veṅkayya, who edited these plates, said—" The Raktâkshin year does not correspond to Śaka Saṁvat 1305 but to 1307 current."—*Ibid.*, p. 225, n. (4). According to Sewell, the cyclic year for Śaka 1305 is Dundubhi ; for Śaka 1306, Rudhirôdgârin ; and for Śaka 1307, Raktâkshin.—*The Siddhântas and the Indian Calendar*, Table LX, p. 186. But see Swâmikaṇṇu Pillai,—Śaka 1305, Dundubhi till the end of March ; Śaka 1305, April, till Śaka 1306, March, Rudhirôdgârin ; Śaka 1306, April till March, Śaka 1307, Raktâkshin ; Śaka 1307, April, Krôdhana begins.—*The Indian Ephemeris*, IV, pp. 368-370. For other considerations against the Âlampûṇḍi plates, see Veṅkayya, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 226.

82 T. A. Gôpinâtha Rao, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVIII, p. 12, where the date is fully discussed.

83 *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 299. For the difference between the Śoraikkâvûr plates and the Ariyûr plates, see *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVIII, p. 14. The lines beginning with *Śrî-Krishṇa* up to *bhûpatih* are not found in the Śoraikkâvûr plates.

1 *JRAS.*, 1920, p. 1 f. : *Vaṅgîya Sâhitya Pariṣad Patrikâ*, 1326 (B.S.), pp. 1-18 ; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, March 1928, pp. 169-178 ; Ib., 1926, p. 254 f. ; *Hindusthan Review*, July, 1924, pp. 444-46, etc.

2 *Records*, Beal, II, pp. 199-200 ; and *Life*, Beal, p. 132.

3 Probably from *sâôr* < *sâyar* < *sâgara* = sea.

about the district, constituted a sea both in form and in name. The evidence has, however, come, all other things apart, from the Bhâṭêrâ copper-plate grant of Gôvinda-Kêśava, which contains the significant expression, '*Sâgara-paścimê*,[4] and more conclusively from a sixteenth-century Bengali production, viz., the *Caitanya-maṅgala* of Jayânanda, wherein the name of the sea (*samudra*) is distinctly given as 'Ḍhôla.'[5] It may be added that reference to the Ḍhôla-samudra is also made in the Bengali *Śunya-purâṇa* of Râmâi Paṇḍita.[6] The extent of the sea is unknown, but the *Dêśâvalîvivṛti*, a geographical work composed by Jagannâtha Paṇḍita in Bihâr, as late as in the seventeenth century, informs us, in its description of Assam, that 'blue water exists constantly in the western region of Gauhâṭi' (*Gôhaṭṭât paścimê bhâgê nîl=âdrau vartatê sadâ*),[7] too.

M. Louis Finot's reply[8] to Mr. Bhaṭṭâcârya, on this point, is neither effective nor edifying. He likes to cling to the 'Prome' theory, already rejected by Mr. Watters[9] on the grounds that Prome neither answers to the given direction from Samataṭa, nor is it situated on the seaside. In insisting, none the less, upon its identification with Prome, one has only to fancy, as does M. Finot, that the frontiers of the 'kingdom of Prome' might have, in the pilgrim's time, reached to the sea, and a mistake might have crept into his record of the direction; but this, we must agree, does not make the case any the stronger. On the contrary, it shows how one labours under the impression that the 'great sea' in question must refer to the Bay of Bengal; and in the case of M. Finot, this is rendered the more explicit by his statement that, "this may not well suit Prome, but much less does it apply to Sylhet, which is twice as distant from the sea as Prome."[10]

As regards *To-lo-po-ti*, restored as Dvârapati or Dvâravati, Mr. Bhaṭṭâcârya essays to identify it with Hill Tipperah, while the former identification was with Ayudhia,[11] the old capital of Siam. But if *Ka-mo-lang-ka* is assuredly Comilla, the identification of *To-lo-po-ti*, to the east of it, with Ayudhia becomes untenable. Furthermore, the foundation of Ayudhia is said to have taken place in the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. 'Sandowê,' which the Rev. S. Beal suggests,[12] is also not a plausible solution. Fortunately, however, the clue to its identification has been found in some old Bengali works. In his proem to the '*Lôr-Candrâṇî-o-Satî-Mayanâvatî*,' the author, a Muhammadan, Daulat Qâzî,[13] gives an account of his patron, Ashraf Khân, at whose instance he undertook the composition of the work, and of the king Runta-dharma Sudharma (1622-38 A.D.) of Arakan, known in the history of Burma as Thiri Thudhamma, a powerful prince, whose minister (*pâtra*) was Ashraf Khân, and during whose reign Manrique, the Portuguese missionary, arrived in Arakan. Rôsâṅga, the capital of Runtadharma, is stated to have been situated to the east of the Karṇaphuli, a river that takes its rise in the Hill Tipperah region, and at the mouth of which stands Chittagong. From Rôsâṅga, the king Runtadharma once went on a pleasure trip, accompanied by his retinue including Ashraf Khân, till he reached a city, 'Dvârâvati by name, which lay by the side of a forest and resembled in magnificence even Dvârakâ, the city of Kṛṣṇa,'[14] and there the king continued to hold his court for a length of time. Thus a beautiful city

[4] Published in *Ep. Ind.*, IX. See p. 282, l. 38.

[5] Edited by N. Vasu, published by the Vaṅgîya Sâhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta, p. 8.

[6] Edited by N. Vasu, p. 24.

[7] *Des. Cat. Sans. MSS. in Library, As. Soc. Bengal*, by MM. H. P. Śâstrî, vol. IV (History and Geography), 1923, p. 53.

[8] *JRAS.*, 1920, p. 451.

[9] *On Yuang Chuang*, II, pp. 188-189.

[10] *Op. cit.*

[11] Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, 1926, pp. 113-115, where Sir Richard C. Temple has given a table of identifications.

[12] *Op. cit.*

[13] *Vaṅgîya Sâhitya Pariṣad Patrikâ*, 1312 (B.S.), p. 244.

[14] *Vana-pâśe nagara êka Dvârâ-vati nâma Kṛṣṇêr Dvârakâ jîna ati anupâ (a) ma.*

called Dvârâvati, lying on the eastern bank of the Karṇaphuli, and evidently towards the north, was in existence down to seventeenth century A.D. Again, its position, as being conterminous with the Tipperah region, is clearly indicated by a couplet occurring in a MS. of the so-called *Parâgali Mahâbhârata*, composed probably between 1522-25 A.D.,[15] which purports to say that Hussain Shâh of Bengal, styled 'the lord of the five Gauḍas,' bestowed (the governorship of) Tripurâ and Dvârikâ (i.e., Dvârâvatî) upon Parâgala Khân,[16] his general, whose patronage the poet of the work enjoyed. It further seems likely that the city served as a 'door land' to Hill Tipperah from the south or south-east, for in another MS., viz., that of a Bengali translation of the *Mahâbhârata* by Jaimini, a verse of a similar nature reads that a king of Gauḍa, whose name is given as Sultân Alpalêñcana, conferred the governorship of the door-land (*drâra*) of Tipperah[17] upon one of his officers.

Hiuen Tsang's information was that the kingdom of Dvârâvatî was to the east of Kamalâṅka, precisely what we find in respect of this Dvârâvatî, and we may without any great risk of error suppose that this is the kingdom referred to by the pilgrim. It would seem, therefore, that Mr. Bhaṭṭâcârya's conclusion, though not his arguments, makes a near approach to truth.

Still to the east of Dvârâvatî was *I-shang-na-pu-lo*, restored as Îśânapura, which cannot be located with precision, but a kingdom having had Dvârâvatî and Mahâ-campâ (*Mo-ha-chan-p'o*) to its west and east respectively must needs be supposed to have covered a more or less extensive part of Upper Burma or North Indo-China, or of both, of the modern atlas. It requires, however, to be noted that I-tsing in his *Nan-hae-k'hi-kwai-niu-fâ-chu'en* makes no mention of Îśânapura ; according to him, eastward of Dvârâvatî, on the extreme frontier, is the country of Lin-i[18] (Campâ, or, more correctly, the southern portion thereof).

It is generally believed that Îśânapura is Cambodia, and the fact that " Îśânavarman was reigning there probably at that very time or a few years before it,"[19] lends colour to the belief ; but the belief itself does not accord with reality. Even accepting it to be true, we would be constrained to regard *Yen-mo-na-chou* as identical with Yavadvîpa or Java, or as a fabulous island in the *Vâyu-purâṇa*,[20] both being equally absurd.

Modern researches have made it irrefragably certain that Mahâcampâ (I-tsing's *Chan-p'o*), although its extent varied at different periods, corresponds roughly to 'the southern portion of Annam, comprising the provinces of Quãng-nam in the north and Bînh-Thuan in the south with the intervening country.[21] A very important part was played by Campâ in the political and religious history of Further India from the third to the fifteenth century A.D., when its power was crushed by the aggressive Annamites, and it still holds the distinction of being the country possessing the earliest Sanskrit inscription in Further India, viz., that of Vo-can, which dates from the second century A.D. The foundation of the first Hindu dynasty of Campâ, probably sometime between 190 and 193 A.D., is associated with the name of Śrîmâra, identified with Kiu-lien (G. Maspero, *La Royaume de Champa*).

The position of Campâ being definitely established, it becomes easy to affirm that *Yen-mo-na-chau* (Yavana-dvîpa, the island of the Yavanas) to its south-west, represents Cambodia, the ancient Kâmbôja, and the Funan (*Poh-nan*) of I-tsing[22] and other Chinese accounts. Girt by the sea on three sides, why it has been called a *dvîpa*, or island, may be explained

15 *Vaṅgîya Sâhitya Pariṣad Patrikâ*, 1334 (B.S.), pp. 166-168.

16 *Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali MSS. in the Vaṅgîya Sâhitya Pariṣad*, by Munśî Âbdul Karim, vol. I, No. II, p. 26.

17 *Vaṅgîya Sâhitya Pariṣad Patrikâ*, 1313 (B.S.), p. 182.

18 *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 197.

19 *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*, by Bijan Raj Chatterjee, Cal. Univ., 1928, pp. 257-258.

20 Beal, *Records*, II, p. 200 and notes.

21 Sir Charles Eliot's *Hinduism and Buddhism*, 1921, vol. III, p. 137.

22 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. X, p. 197.

by a statement of Ma-twan-lin : " Eastern India is bounded on the east by a great sea, it is near Fu-nan (Siam) and Lin-i (Tsiampa), it is only separated by a narrow sea."[23]

Fu-nan, in the words of I-tsing, is 'the extreme southern corner of Jambudvîpa.' His remark that 'the people of this country were formerly naked savages'[24] goes to suggest that the so-called 'country of the naked men' which was visited by the two Chinese priests, Taoulin and Hwui Ta[25] (both after Hiuen Tsang and before I-tsing), in the course of their voyage to India, is but Fu-nan or Cambodia. The former went from it to Tâmralipti. In the *Kathâ-Sarita-Sâgara* of Sômadêva,[26] we read of a Brâhman of Ujjayinî, named Vidûṣaka, who came to Tâmralipti, on the coast of the Eastern Sea, and there embarked on board of a merchant-ship for Karkôṭa-nagara, but was led by circumstances to arrive in the *Nagna-râjya* (kingdom of the naked men) from which Karkôṭa-nagara is said to have been a week's journey or voyage ; this *Nagna-râjya,* therefore, is most probably identifiable with Cambodia. In connection with the latter priest (Hwui Ta) we have the following account of 'the country of the naked men' : " For two or three *lis* along the eastern shore there were nothing but cocoanut trees and forests of betel vines. The people, when they saw the ship, came along-side in little boats with the greatest clamour ; there were upwards of 100 such boats filled with cocoanuts and plantains, they had also baskets, etc., made of rattan ; they desired to exchange these things for whatever we had that they fancied, but they liked nothing so much as bits of iron. A piece of this metal two fingers length in size would buy as many as 5 or 10 cocoanuts. The men here are all naked, the women wear a girdle of leaves ; the sailors in joke offered them clothes, but they made signs that they did not want such articles. This country according to report is south-west of the district of Sze-ch'uan .... The men are not quite black, of middling height, they use poisoned arrows, one of which is fatal."[27]

It is manifestly due to their barbarous habits and manners that the deriding epithet 'Yavana' was applied to them. The *Daśakumâra-carita,* or 'Adventures of Ten Princes,' of Daṇḍin tells us that the coast of Dâmalipta (or Tâmra-lipti) used to be frequented by the sea-going vessels of the Yavanas,[28] and relates how a Yavana, Râmêṣu by name, sunk in the distant sea a ship of one of the princes who sailed from Tâmralipti, besides making several other references to their acts of atrocity. The very name 'Râmêṣu,' applied to a Yavana, it is curious, reminded the late MM. Haraprasâda Śâstrî of King Râmêses of Egypt, whose memory, he believed, was probably alive to some extent till the date of the composition of the work,[29] which he would 'not hesitate to place in the second century B.C.'[30] The received opinion, according to the theory of Prof. Wilson[31] and Dr. Bühler,[32] however, is that the allusion is to the Arabian or Persian traders, for it could not likely be applicable to the Greeks. But, nevertheless, the Cambodians are, to all appearance, the Yavanas of the *Daśakumâra-carita.* It may also be recalled here that a Chinese priest of the latter half of the seventh century A.D., who arrived at Tâmralipti, was 'attacked by robbers at the mouth of the river,' and 'barely escaped with his life.'[33] It may not improbably be that these robbers were the Yavana or Cambodian pirates, and if so, this would serve as one reason why Daṇḍin should not be ascribed to a period long before 600 A.D.[34]

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23 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. IX, p. 15. 24 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. X, p. 197. 25 *Ibid.*, p. 195.

26 Ed. Hermann Brockhaus, vol. I, Leipzig, 1839, p. 271 f.

27 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. X, pp. 195-196.

28 N. S. P. ed., 6th *Ucchâsa*, pp. 155-163, 176-177.

29 *Vaṅgîya Sâhitya Pariṣad Patrikâ*, 1321 (B.S.), p. 256.

30 *Ibid.*, 1332 (B.S.), p. 200.

31 H. H. Wilson's ed., London, 1846, p. 148, footnote 2.

32 G. Bühler's ed., Bombay, 1873, p. 41, notes.

33 *Life*, Beal, Intro., p. xxxv.

34 Cf. Keith's *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, 1927, pp. 70-72.

THE GÂY-ḌÂṆṚ FESTIVAL : THE CULT OF THE MOTHER GODDESS.

BY KALIPADA MITRA, M.A., B.L., D. J. COLLEGE, MONGHYR.

I HAVE suggested that the *gây-ḍâṇṛ* festival is a relic of some ceremonial sacrifice offered in the past to the Corn Goddess ; especially because of its close association with the worship of the goddess Kâlî, the terrible Mother Goddess, and also with her Lakṣmî and Alakṣmî, and the celebration of the Feast of Lamps, or the *dîvâlî*. But the past has been forgotten, and what is understood now is that the festival conduces in a mysterious way to the benefit of the cattle (*supra*, vol. LXI, pp. 1-3).

In Bengal there is current a peculiar mode of worshipping Lakṣmî, the Corn Goddess, which is also associated with the Feast of Lamps and certain processes which are supposed to conduce to the benefit not only of the cattle, but also of the household. This particular worship is offered by women only and is called *gârśî vrata*, a corruption of *gârhasthya* (household) *vrata* or *gâru vrata* (*gâru* from *ghara* ?).

Let me here give a summary account of the *gârśî vrata* as it is observed in the several districts of Bengal.

In the Narail subdivision of the Jessore district, the Bagerhat subdivision of the Khulna district and in some parts of Nadia district the ceremony is observed by every Hindu family in the latter part of the night preceding (i.e., in the early hours of) the *saṃkrânti* day in Kârtika. Men and women leave their beds long before dawn, light a fire with *pât* (jute) stems, sit round it for some time, and then apply *ghî*, tamarind, etc., to their lips. They say that this practice prevents cracking, and preserves the smoothness of their lips during the forthcoming winter.

In the districts of Pabna, Dacca, Noakhali, Bakarganj, Maimansingh and Faridpur, and some other parts of Nadia the *vrata* is celebrated by Hindu women of all classes on the *saṃkrânti* of Âśvina, generally early in the morning, but in some places at noon also.

A remarkable feature of the worship in some cases is the disfiguration of an earthen image of Alakṣmî, whose nose and ears are cut off, after which Lakṣmî is ceremonially installed in the house. In Faridpur and Bakarganj the *kathâ* (legend) of Lakṣmî is recited, after which the *purohita* worships the goddess. The *pûjâ* offerings consist of *khĕsârî dâl* (খেঁসারি দাল, *Lathyrus sativus*), plantain, cocoanut, kernel of *tâla* (*Borassus flabellifer*), *sapna* (?), *kumṛâ* (কুমড়া, a gourd growing in the rainy season) and *uṛi* (উড়ি) or *boro* rice. No produce of the ploughshare should form an offering. Sugarcane molasses are therefore excluded. In many places the ladies who perform the *vrata* eat the grains of *chînâ* (*Panicum miliaceum*). Children light stems of *pât* (jute), and smoke them like cigarettes.

In Vikrampur the *gârśî vrata* is called the *gâru vrata*. In the small hours of the Âśvina *saṃkrânti* day all rise from their beds, and blowing a conch, they light a torch of *pât* sticks with which they make a circuit of the house, while elderly women recite a doggerel charm :

জোঁক পোঁক বাহির হ,
লক্ষ্মী আসুক ঘরে ।

that is,

Out ye vermin (lit. leeches and worms),
Come Lakṣmî into the house.

Uttering this *mantra*, they take the light into all the rooms and then place it on the bedroom floor, where they roast green tamarind and apply the pulp to their lips as a protective charm against their cracking in winter. On this day the Hindus do not eat grains produced by the use of the ploughshare, or even fish caught in a net. It is their belief that unless they eat *śâluka* (*Nymphæa Lotus*) and *khĕsâri dâl*, Alakṣmî will enter the house. In the evening the ladies light lamps all round the house.

In Nadia they beat a winnowing fan with a jute stem (পাঁকাটী, পাট-কাটী) and recite the following doggerels :

(*a*) রাই সরিষা বেঙার ফুল,
যা রে মশা গাঙের কূল।

(*b*) এ বাড়ীর মশা মাছি ঐ বাড়ী যা,
ও বাড়ীর লক্ষ্মী ঠাকরুণ এই বাড়ী আয়।

in which the mosquitoes are conjured to depart from the house and betake themselves to another house or cross the village river, and the goddess Lakṣmî is invited to enter. In the Hugli district children beat the winnowing fan to drive away the mosquitoes in the morning following the Kalî pûjâ day.

In Nadia and Faridpur another doggerel is recited on the occasion :

আশ্বিন যায় কার্ত্তিক আসে,
মা লক্ষ্মী পাটে বসে।
ওল ওল ওল,
মহাদেবের বোল ॥[1]

No produce of tillage is used. The cows and other animals of the villagers, e.g., sheep and goats, are well fed, *bathed in the river and then made to cross it.* Straw braids are hung on, or tied to, the jack-fruit trees, in the belief that this act promotes their fertility.

Although in other parts of the country the worship is regarded as that of Lakṣmî, in eastern Maimansingh it is recognised as a sort of worship offered to the dead mother-in-law. The following account has been taken from the Bengali magazine, *Pravâsî*, of 1330 B.S. The *vrata* is performed on the Âsvina *saṃkrânti* day. In the courtyard of the house a small tank is dug, and on its eastern side a rice plant and a *mân-kachû* plant (*Alocasia indica*) are planted. At the four corners and the four sides respectively are placed images of four crows and four kites made of rice-paste. On the western side is placed an effigy of a pig. Then a female figure with a baby on its lap is made of rice-paste and placed under the rice and *mân-kachû* plants. This is regarded as the representation of the mother-in-law. On a large wicker-work platter are arranged eight kinds of vegetables and all kinds of pulse (*dâl*), with the entire paraphernalia of cooking, and the platter is laid before the effigy. A *naivedya* (offering) is also placed there. The female votary then draws water from the tank and makes the effigy of her dead mother-in-law drink it. After the *vrata kathâ* is recited, the effigy of the pig is sacrificed, and it and all the images (of crows, kites and mother-in-law) are buried in the tank. The *dâl* and vegetables together with grains of *chînâ* (*Panicum miliaceum*) are cooked and eaten by her.

The above proceeding is strongly reminiscent of the primitive Mother Goddess found in the neolithic graves, e.g., of Crete and neighbouring places. Crows and ravens are associated with death. Mackenzie remarks that " the ravens take the place of the doves as the birds of the Mother Goddess."[2] Eagles and their congeners, the kites, are similarly associated with her. The female figure with the baby in its lap reminds us of the terracotta figurine described by Jackson in his paper entitled " Archæological Research at Patna ": " With the possible exception of a single fragment, a small shaven head, it is noteworthy that every one of the terracotta human figurines or fragments which have come to light represents the

[1] I do not understand the meaning of the second couplet. From my inquiries regarding the *gây-ḍâṇṛ* festival at Wârisalîganj in the district of Gayâ, I came to learn that *ol* (*Colocasia antiquorum*) is given to the cows to eat. We have already seen (*supra*, vol. LX, p. 190) that the Oraons give slices of *ol* to their cattle on the occasion of the Sohorai festival.

[2] *Myths of Crete and pre-Hellenic Europe*, p. 290.

form of a woman. There are several of very different sizes which represent a naked woman in a sitting posture, in one case holding a baby in her arms. This specimen is exactly similar to one recently found at Buxar, and the head in both cases is curiously primitive in type. One of the terracotta plaques is particularly interesting because it is identical with a specimen found by Spooner at Kumrahar, and because only three days later the Bulandibagh excavation yielded the upper half of another. The resemblance is so complete that all three have probably been produced by the same mould, and it seems as if this figure must be a representation of the Mother Goddess or similar female worship cult evidently diffused at Patna."[3]

The placing of the effigy of the female under the rice and *mân-kachû* plants is suggestive of her being associated with the spirit of vegetation, and she may be regarded as a Mother Goddess. The sacrifice of the pig effigy recalls the pig sacrifice in the worship of the primitive Mother Goddess. A pig was sacrificed to the Cretan Mother Goddess, though pork was taboo in Crete. The pig is equally an abomination to the Hindus, and it is not easily understood why a Hindu housewife should sacrifice it in effigy in the worship of her dead mother-in-law, unless the latter be regarded as the representation of a Mother Goddess. It seems that there has been in this worship a mingling of two ideas, viz. (1) of a burial ceremony and ancestor-worship, and (2) worship of the Mother Goddess Lakṣmî. It is remarkable that the housewife does not eat rice (popularly called Lakṣmî in Bengal), which becomes a sacred taboo on the day of worship (as books become a sacred taboo to us on the day of worship to Sarasvatî), but eats other grain.

Chînâ and *uṛi* are regarded as growing wild and are not included among the produce of the ploughshare. *Uṛi* is the Sanskrit *nîvâra*, or *tṛṇadhânyaṃ*. It is a wild rice, the grains of which, when ripe, fall of themselves, and can be gathered and brought home (Yogesachandra Raya's *Bengali Dict.*, p. 482). *Boro* rice grows wild in marshes. *Chînâ* was originally wild, though it is now cultivated in many places.

It has been seen that women are the officiants at the *gârśî vrata*, or the worship of Lakṣmî, Mother Goddess, the giver of food. Even in the hunting stage of human history, while men were occupied with the chase to find animal food, their women folk grew corn in the forest clearings. Bishop Whitehead says: "The fact, too, that agriculture among primitive races was the business of women rather than of men, as it is among the savage races of the present day, probably led to the village goddesses being at first worshipped by the women rather than by men."[4]

In the worship of the so-called dead mother-in-law there is a faint suggestion of her resemblance to the Cretan Mother Goddess. There is no doubt that the cult of the Mother Goddess prevailed throughout India, and particularly in Bengal, where the Tântrik cult flourished so vigorously. Excavations in Bihâr have revealed the existence there of a very ancient cult of the Mother Goddess. In the Patna Museum there is a terracotta female figure with a serpent, from Basâṛh, which strikes one as having a strong resemblance to the Cretan representation of the Mother Goddess. Many female figures and representations of females with hands clasped on the breast or resting on the hip, wearing scanty costume of archaic type, huge round ear-rings or, more rarely, wings (which Sir John Marshall ascribes to Mesopotamian influence) were discovered at Basâṛh.[5] Jackson describes a very curious figure found at Patna of an animal with small projections or feet, a snake's head and woman's body. He writes[6]: "This figure, being entire, solves the puzzle regarding the nature of several though larger fragments, both of the head and the hour-glass shaped body, which have been found at Basâṛh, Buxar, etc., and the theory may be advanced that it was intended to represent a Nâginî."

3 *JBORS.*, vol. XIII (June, 1927), pp. 126-127.

4 Whitehead—*The Village Gods of South India*, p. 150.

5 *A.S.I.A.R.*, Eastern Circle, 1913-1914, Excavations at Basaṛh.

6 *Op. cit.*

In his interesting article, *Remains of a Prehistoric Civilization in the Gangetic Valley*,[7] Dr. Banerji-Śâstrî has given an account of terracottas of the chalcolithic period found in his excavations at Buxar. The figurines are of females and are of two types, (*a*) finished and (*b*) crude, the former wearing the hair in a variety of fashions, with elaborate head-dresses, and heavy ornamental ear-rings, etc., some presenting in head-dresses of volute-like smooth horn type a resemblance to examples from Harappâ. "The cruder types are highly characteristic of the Mohenjo-daro and Sumerian types." There is a female figure with a child at the breast. Dr. Banerji-Śâstrî says of the Buxar terracottas : "A study of these terracottas may suggest a clue to the ultimate cradle of the Sumerian and later civilizations of Western Asia. Of the two predominant types, the crude Series B, Nos. 1-7, may be compared with the crude figures in Sumer and Sindh ; the highly finished and subtle types of Series A, Nos. 1-20, with pre-Sumerian, Eridu and the Ægean. The Buxar and Ægean Art, so sharply contrasted with the Sumer and Sindh simplicity, can be traced back to an earlier epoch : and the Asura may be equated with the pre-Sumerian Accad people of Assyria.... "

Numerous terracotta figures representing nude females with elaborate head-dresses and ornaments have been discovered in the ruins of Mohenjo-daro. Sir John Marshall says : "They can hardly fail to be identified with the figures of the Mother Goddesses familiar in Mesopotamia and countries further to the west." Many similar objects, some of them of symbolic significance, discovered at Mohenjo-daro and Harappâ link these places in a civilization of the chalcolithic period styled the "Indus civilization." Sir John writes : "That the Indus civilization described above extended over Baluchistan and Waziristan as well as over Sindh and the Panjab has now been established ; and there is evidence to show that it extended eastward over Cutch and Kathiawar towards the Dekhan. Whether it embraced Rajputana and Hindusthan and the valley of the Ganges remains to be proved." The finds at Buxar, Basâṛh and Patna seem to supply the evidence.

The burial of the mother-in-law in the tank somehow suggests to me the figure of a female outlined on a small gold leaf found in the deposit of human bones and charcoal in a burial mound at Lauṛiyâ-Nandangaṛh opened by Dr. Bloch. He identified it with the burial mound (*śmaśâna*) described in the Vedic ritual, and the female figure with the Earth Goddess referred to in the Vedic burial hymn, "but both this interpretation and the date (seventh or eighth century B.C.) hazarded by the explorer for these mounds must be regarded as tentative only."[8] I doubt if there was any Vedic ritual involved ; but even if there were, the influence at work seems to be pre-Aryan, for in the Vedic theology goddesses play little part, and Pṛthivî is a faint character.[9] There is evidence of the existence in Champaran of the cult of the Mother Goddess. What is more striking are the names, Lauṛiyâ-Nandangaṛh, where the mound was opened, and Lauṛiyâ Âraraj, probably associated with the *laur*, or phallic or pillar cult. The Aśokan pillar at Basâṛh is also similarly associated, as I learnt from inquiries from a man on the spot in 1927. The association of the Aśokan monolithic pillars with the phallic cult seems to suggest the earlier existence of this cult in India. Dr. J. H. Hutton, in his lecture on 'The Stone Age Cult of Assam,' delivered at the Indian Museum, Calcutta, in 1928, suggested that "the erection of the prehistoric monoliths takes the form of *liṅgaṃ* and *yoni*." He thought "that the Tântrik form of worship, so prevalent in Assam, is probably due to the incorporation into Hinduism of a fertility cult which preceded it as the religion of the country."[10] In the course of examination of the Sanskrit words *lâṅgala*, *lâṅgula* and *liṅga*, which he traces to Austro-Asiatic sources, Prof. Przyluski remarks : "It is more probable that the Aryans have borrowed from the aborigines of India the cult of *liṅga* as well as the

[7] *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, vol. III (1930), pp. 187-191.

[8] *C.H.I.*, p. 616 ; *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1904-1905.

[9] *C.H.I.*, p. 105.

[10] *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian* by Dr. P. C. Bagchi (Calcutta University Publication, 1929). Intro., pp. xvii—xviii.

name of the idol (Śiva). These popular practices despised by the Brâhmans were well-known in old times."[11] At Mohenjo-daro were discovered curious ring stones and some phallus-like objects—the latter somewhat resembling in form the so-called 'Chessmen' pillars of Assam, possessing a religious character symbolical of the agents of generation, the worship of which goes to a very remote age in India. Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda says: "Sir John Marshall proposes to trace the cult of the phallic emblem of Śiva to the chalcolithic period by recognising in the 'Chessmenlike' objects and ring stones found at Mohenjo-daro *liṅgas* and *Yonis* respectively."[12]

There are certain features common to the worship of Lakṣmî in the *gârśî vrata* and that of Lakṣmî on the Kâlî pûjâ day. Take, for instance, the expulsion of Alakṣmî. In the Monghyr district on the *bhûta caturdaśî* day the Hindus make an image of cowdung representing *Alakṣmî* or *Dariddar*, and drag her out and humiliate her, suiting the action to the rude chant of the magic doggerel: *Lachhmî ghar, Dariddar bahâr.*

Similarly in the Hugli district an effigy of cowdung representing Alakṣmî is made and, after a sort of perfunctory worship, it is made over to the children, who drag it outside, chanting loudly the while:

অলক্ষ্মী বিদেয় হয়,
লক্ষ্মী আসে ঘরে।

In many places in Bengal on the night of Kâlî pûjâ (*amâvasyâ*) first Alakṣmî is worshipped by the householder and, after her expulsion, Lakṣmî is installed in the house. This is also formally enjoined in the Bengali *pañjikâ*: *Pradoṣe Śrî Śrî Lakṣmî o Alakṣmî pûjâ.*

The dread aspect of Lakṣmî is Alakṣmî; her worship is therefore significant on the day of the worship of the great Mother Goddess, Kâlî. And the *Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa* supports this: "The *gupta-rûpî* Devî, the Devî who is 'unmanifested,' takes the three forms of Lakṣmî, Mahâ Kâlî and Sarasvatî......As giver of wealth and prosperity she is Lakṣmî, and as destroyer of wealth and prosperity, Alakṣmî or Jyeṣṭhâ Devî." On both the occasions of *gârśî vrata* and Kâlî pûjâ there is

(1) the worship of the Mother Goddess on the last day (as once reckoned) of the year;
(2) the illumination;
(3) ancestor worship in (*a*) *dîpânvitâ pârvaṇa śrâddha*, offered to the *pitṛs* or ancestors on the *bhûta caturdaśî* day, and (*b*) reminiscence in the form of worship of the dead mother-in-law in the account of *gârśî vrata* from eastern Maimansingh;
(4) securing welfare to cattle;
(5) recital of doggerel verses to drive out vermin.

I am reminded of similar circumstances attendant on the annual ritual of Osiris celebrated on the Egyptian new year's day in the worship of the cow-headed Isis, the Mother Goddess, and the nocturnal illumination, commemorating the dead ancestors (cf. the lighting of the celestial path of the ancestors of the Hindus on the *dîvâlî* day) who revisit their old homes once a year.

In the Bîrbhûm district on the day following Kâlî *pûjâ* a small rude hut is made of straw, bamboos, jute and dried flowers of *śara* (*Saccharum arundinaceum*), which is then burnt down: I do not remember the details of the ceremony, which I saw in my childhood. An account is given in *Man in India* (vol. III) of the burning of human effigies of straw in some parts of Bengal on the last day of the Bengali month of Kârtika, which is known as *bhûl* or *bholâ*, the purport of which is to kill vermin, and promote vegetation. What is the significance of this bonfire on the day following the Kâlî *pûjâ* and the last day of Kârtika, which

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 15.
[12] *A.S.I. Memoir* No. 41, p. 36.

are respectively the days of the *gây-ḍâṇṛ*, and *gârśi vrata* festivals ? I think this represents a particular form of sacrifice to the Mother Goddess with a view to promote fertility of crops.

During the Holi festival also an effigy is burnt. Effigies are also burnt in bonfires in Europe, and sometimes the pretence is made of burning living persons. The burning of the effigy seems to be a survival of the ancient custom of sacrificing by fire the human animal, which symbolised the spirit of vegetation. In ancient Egypt and Sumer originally the king himself was killed as a sacrifice for vegetation. The king was the best victim, for he was the divine son of the Mother Goddess. The Osiris and Tammuz rites furnish evidence on the point. " The evidence, therefore, suggests, " says Perry, " that human sacrifice was specially associated with the great Mother Goddess, and with the sun-god, and that the earlier phase was that in which the king himself was the victim."[13] Later on, a subject, a captive or some other victim was substituted, e.g., in ancient Greece and Rome, in the rites of Thargelia, Saturnalia, and so on. In modern times the sacrifice was simulated in the burning of effigies. Ashes from the bonfires in India (e.g., *holî, bhûl, bholâ*, etc.) and Europe are conveyed to the fields for destroying vermin,[14] preventing blights and promoting the fertility of the crops, besides averting ill-luck and disease. In other words, the remnants of the victim immolated are conveyed to fields in the same manner as shreds of flesh torn from the Meriah (and in ancient times the Dionysian and Osirian victims) to promote the growth of crops.

From the human representative dying in the character of the god of vegetation the passage was easy to his vicariously suffering for man and bearing the entire burden of his sins manifested in his sorrows and misfortunes. The idea of the scapegoat became complete, and in a later age of mercy and civilization when the savage brutality of old gradually came to be mitigated, effigies and substitutes were allowed to take the place of the living originals. Effigies representing the old year had to bear the burden of the sins of the entire year, and were tried, shot or (and) burnt (cf. the burning of the *Saṃvat*) ; or else human representatives of the old year (e.g., in Tibet) or even animals had to bear the sin of the community and were driven beyond the boundary. The ancient Egyptians heaped their sins, past and future, on the sacred cows and bulls, and then got rid of them by killing the animals. Cocks, goats and pigs were similarly believed to carry away the sins of the community. The taking the cattle for the *gây-ḍâṇṛ* generally outside the village (*bastî*) (cf. the *Sohrai* festival of the Oraons), driving the cattle across the river in the *gârśî vrata*, and dragging the cart to the village boundary in the Pallallamma worship—all suggest transference of the sin of the village beyond the boundary. The driving away of Alakṣmî and the installation of Lakṣmî in her place has its close parallel in the ceremony of the human scapegoat in ancient Greece known as " the expulsion of hunger, " when the slave was beaten with the rods of *agnus castus* and turned out of doors with the words : " Out with hunger and in with wealth and health."[15] Possibly the pig in the *gây-ḍâṇṛ* takes away the vices of the cows (and of the villagers) on the new year's day, and with its sacrifice are extinguished all influences harmful to vegetation.

There are points of contact between the Indus civilization and that of pre-dynastic Egypt (e.g., in respect of faience sealings) and that of Sumer (e.g., in the Mother Goddess cult). It would be interesting to investigate the connexion between the ancient Mother Goddess cult of India and that of Europe.

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13 *The Children of the Sun*, pp. 222, 223.

14 'Insect Pests and some South Indian Beliefs,' in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, vol. XVI, p. 19.

15 *The Golden Bough*, p. 578.

THE INITIAL DATE OF THE GÂṄGEYA ERA.

BY JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH, *Purâtattva-vichakshaṇa.*

MANY attempts have been made by scholars to ascertain the initial year of the Gâṅgeya Saṁvat, but they have failed because they had not sufficient material to work upon. Several new inscriptions having recently come to light, we are in a position to fix it more accurately. Mr. R. Subba Rao has written a series of articles on the Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga in the pages of the *Journal of the Ândhra Historical Research Society.* The latest, "The History of the Eastern Gaṅga Kings of Kaliṅga," appeared in Volume V, Part 4 of that journal. Mr. Rao has discussed the matter at length and met the arguments of his predecessors on this vexed question. Unfortunately he, too, has failed to hit upon the correct initial year, although he has come very near the truth. We shall presently see that his failure was due to his taking a doubtful starting point and not testing his conclusion with some of the facts disclosed in the inscriptions.

We have based our conclusion on the following unassailable data :—

1. The Naḍgâm plates of the Gaṅga Mahârâjâdhirâja Vajrahastadeva (III), Lord of Trikaliṅga, giving the genealogy and the chronology of his predecessors.[1]
2. The Simhipura copper-plate grant of the Kadamba king Dharmakheḍi, dated the Gaṅga-Kadamba era 520, in the reign of Devendravarma (-Kâmârṇava), son of Anantavarma (-Aniyaṅkabhîma-Vajrahasta II).[2]
3. The Chicacole grant of Gaṅga Mahârâja Indravarman of Kaliṅga issued in the Gâṅgeya era 128, in connection with a gift made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the month of Mârgaśira.[3]

Now it is worthy of note that the first of these inscriptions, viz., the Naḍgâm plates of Śaka 979 of Vajrahastadeva III gives Śaka 960 as the date of the coronation of that Gaṅga king. Some details specified about this date enabled F. Kielhorn to make the necessary calculations, and he was of opinion that this coronation date corresponds to Sunday, 9th April 1038 A.D. Further the same Naḍgâm plates specify the number of years during which Vajrahasta, the donor, and his predecessors each reigned. This enables us to give below a chart showing the genealogy from Anantavarma-Aniyaṅkabhîma-Vajrahasta II to Anantavarma-Vajrahasta III, together with the number of years each reigned in terms of A.D.

1. (Anantavarma-)Vajrahasta Aniyaṅkabhîma II
   35 years | (980-1015 A.D.) = 902-937 Śaka.

2. Devendravarma-Kâmârṇava	3. Guṇḍana	4. Madhukâmârṇava
½ year (1015-16 A.D.)	3 years (1016-19 A.D.)	19 years (1019-38 A.D.)

5. (Anantavarma-)Vajrahasta III.
   Accession in Śaka 960=Sunday, 9th April 1038 A.D.

The above table shows that No. 2, Devendravarma, ruled in 1015-16 A.D. From the Simhipura grant of Dharmakheḍi we learn that this king, Devendravarma, ruled in 520 Gaṅga-Kadamba era. Now it is admitted that the Gaṅga-Kadamba Saṁvat and the Gâṅgeya Saṁvat are one and the same era. As Devendravarma ruled for only six months, 520 Gâṅgeya era must coincide with 1015-16 A.D. This being so, the initial year of the Gâṅgeya Saṁvat cannot but correspond to (1015-16—520=) 495-96 A.D.

The Chicacole grant of Indravarman, dated 128 Gâṅgeya era, records a gift made on account of a lunar eclipse in the month of *Mârgaśira.* Now, according to our calculation, Gâṅgeya era 128 corresponds to (128+495-96=) 623-24 A.D. On a reference to the Table X, p. 55, of Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Chronology,* we find that there was a lunar eclipse in the month of *Mârgaśira* in 624 A.D. This confirms the conclusion that the Gâṅgeya era started in 496 A.D.

Mr. Subba Rao thinks that the starting point of the Gâṅgeya Saṁvat is 494 A.D., but this does not satisfy the above test. According to his view, 128 Gâṅgeya era corresponds

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IV, p. 189. [2] *Jour. Andhra. Hist. Res. Society*, vol. III, p. 179. [3] *I.A.*, vol. XIII, p. 120.

to 622 A.D., but there was no lunar eclipse in the month *Mârgaśira* in this year or in any of the fourteen preceding years. It is rather strange that Mr. Subba Rao should fail to avail of this test, although he himself noticed that Fleet remarked that the 'clue to the date might perhaps be found in the mention of the eclipse of the moon in Indravarma's grant of the 128th year.' He has committed another mistake in not basing his starting point on the coronation date of Anantavarma Vajrahasta III, as given in the Naḍgâm plates, which he himself admits are "approved by all scholars as historical and trustworthy." He has, on the other hand, wrongly assumed the date of coronation of Vajrahasta II to be *Śaka* 901, and has quoted Mr. Ramdas as his authority.[4] But Mr. Ramdas wrote that Dharmakheḍi, the donor of the Mandasa grant, "must have been crowned in *Śaka* 901."[5] Mr. Rao took it for his overlord Vajrahasta II. According to this date, the interval between the accessions of the two Vajrahastas (Śaka 901-960) was 59 years, whereas according to the Naḍgâm plates the difference is $(35+\frac{1}{2}+3+19=)$ $57\frac{1}{2}$ years. This discrepancy should have roused the suspicion of Mr. Subba Rao in regard to the accuracy of his assumption of the date of accession of Vajrahasta II.

Now let us see whether our date can satisfy other astronomical data found in the plates of the Gaṅga kings hitherto discovered. The plates dated the 51st,[6] 134th,[7] 221st,[8] 304th,[9] 351st[10] and 397th[11] years of the Gâṅgeya era record grants made on account of solar eclipses. They correspond to 547, 650, 717, 800, 847 and 893 A.D., respectively. Referring to Table X of Pillay's *Indian Chronology*, we find that there were solar eclipses in the years 547, 650 and 800 A.D. As regards the remaining three dates, solar eclipses took place in the immediately preceding years. It is well-known that solar or lunar eclipses may take place in the same year as that of a copper-plate grant or even one year previous, as we see from a critical study of the inscriptions, but of course no grant can possibly be issued in regard to an eclipse which has not yet taken place. So these astronomical data do not go against our conclusion. Whereas if we accept Mr. Subba Rao's date for the commencement of the Gâṅgeya era, we find that there was no solar eclipse in 304 Gâṅgeya era (corresponding to 798 A.D.), nor in the preceding year.

BOOK-NOTICES.

PREHISTORIC CAVE ART IN INDIA.

MEMOIR, ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, No. 24, Rock Paintings, by RAI SAHIB MANORANJAN GHOSH.

Prehistoric cave paintings occur in many parts of the world. They have been studied in Western Europe, in South America, and in many parts of Africa. They often give considerable information to the student of the prehistory of the particular district where they occur. They can roughly be grouped under two heads: (1) naturalistic or semi-naturalistic, (2) conventionalised or symbolic. It used to be considered that in regard to cave art similar styles in different regions necessarily meant that a similar culture was responsible for them in the two areas. Especially was this thought to be true for case (2). So many different kinds of conventionalisation or symbol can be devised that it was deemed unlikely that two different cultures would independently invent the same signs to portray the various objects and information they desired. Later investigation has suggested that the above dogma, though probable in many cases, is not necessarily always valid. For example the frequent similarity of certain symbols in South American rock-shelter art with those occurring under similar conditions in South Spain in the Copper Age is striking. Yet it is quite impossible to postulate any connection between the two localities in that remote period.

That cave paintings occur in Central India has been known for a long time. Reproductions from paintings in Singanpur cave appear in Panchanan Mitra's book, *Prehistoric India*, which was published in 1923. Unfortunately in this work there seems to have been some rather careless proof-reading, and several European and other sites, illustrated to show their similarity to the Indian finds, appear labelled as themselves Indian. As a result there developed in some people's minds a perhaps rather sceptical attitude in respect to these Indian cave drawings. Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh has, therefore, done a good work in re-examining the whole matter and in publishing the results of his new and extensive explorations. The book is clearly written and well illustrated.

There are four districts where the cave paintings here described occur: (1) on the left bank of the river Sanjai, 16 miles north-west of Chaibâsa in

[4] *J.A.H.R.S.*, vol. V, pp. 266 and 274. [5] *JBORS.*, vol. XVII, p. 180. [6] *I.A.*, vol. XII, p. 275.
[7] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, p. 309. [8] *J.A.H.R.S.*, vol. II, p. 187. [9] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 18.
[10] *I. A.*, vol. XIV, p. 11. [11] *J.A.H.R.S.*, vol. II, p. 150.

Chotâ Nâgpur, (2) near Naharpâli, a small station on the main Bengal-Nagpur railway, (3) in the valley of the Son in the Vindhyas, Mîrzâpur dist., accessible from the town of Ahraurâ, (4) about 2 miles from the town of Hoshangâbâd. The paintings consist of animals, men and signs. The colour, as a rule, appears to be red or reddish-purple, though a brown pigment was sometimes used. The style is mainly naturalistic, though signs and patterns occur.

Stone implements were collected at or near the sites, though it does not appear that any really systematic excavation was undertaken. This is to be regretted, as the finds, as illustrated, represent a very "mixed bag." Plate XII (b), No. 22, for example, is apparently Lower Palæolithic in age and comparable with many similar specimens belonging to Series 1 (see *Antiquity*, Sept. 1930), which have been found in the re-deposited laterite of the Madras area : Plate XII (a) on the other hand is almost certainly much later in date and possibly to be referred to Series 4. Although the author in cataloguing the specimens has labelled many as Palæolithic, it is not perhaps always certain that this appellation is correct. Much further work in India's earliest prehistory is necessary before comparisons with cultures from other far-distant areas can be reasonably attempted. Probably, too, it would be advantageous if more collections of material from outside India could be distributed over the country for comparative purposes. This could have been easily arranged if a stupid law—as it seems to the outsider—did not make it difficult to export duplicates of archæological specimens out of India.

At any rate the author has done a fine piece of work, even if it would appear as yet dangerous to attempt any correlation of this Indian cave art with that found in Europe or Africa. He has given us a monograph of facts which are of great interest and will prove of even greater importance as our knowledge increases.

M. C. BURKITT.

DJĂWĂ, bi-monthly journal of the *Java Institute*, published at Jogjakarta, Java. (July 1931 to June 1932.)

The latest numbers of *Djåwå* give proof of the continued activity of the Java Institute (of which H. H. Prince Mangkunagara VII, of Surakarta, is the President and Raden Adipati Professor Dr. Husoin Djayadiningrat, the Chairman) in bringing important articles before the public and stimulating critical discussions, not only in respect of the antiquities and past institutions of Java, but also of all aspects of living Javanese culture. And since in Java, as in other eastern countries, modern civilisation is rarely far divorced from past developments, both sides of this Institute's activities blend harmoniously.

As a means of judging of the changes which western contacts are bringing about among the Javanese, Dr. Th. Pigeaud's survey of *Javanese Literature during the last forty years* is most useful. The author points out that by the commencement of the nineties of last century the older generation of Javanese scholars, whose work was entirely steeped in the traditions of the past, had died out and a new period had commenced. Western schooling and the fact that especially the more cultured among the Javanese increasingly came to use Dutch as their vehicle, tended to produce a set-back in the development of Javanese literature, even though respect for the traditional past was never lost. Gradually, however, especially owing to the enlightened support and personal interest of several of the Javanese Princes, both in Surakarta and in Jogjakarta, a keener study of and a more active production of Javanese literature revived. By a happy coincidence, articles devoted respectively to the 40-years jubilee of H. H. Prince Pakubuwana X, Susuhunan of Surakarta, and the 25-years jubilee of H. H. Prince Pakualam VII, of Jogjakarta, give one an opportunity to judge of some of the ways in which these Rulers and their predecessors have stimulated interest in and the study of Javanese literature, art and antiquities.

Music, the drama and dancing are regularly dealt with in *Djåwå*. In recent numbers Mr. H. Overbeck has devoted some interesting critical notes to Dr. Rassers' *The Origin of the Javanese Drama*, whilst Mr. and Mrs. Brandts Buys-Van Zyp, whose studies in Indonesian music are well known, supply an interesting, illustrated account of "earth-harps" and other string instruments in which the strings are stretched over holes in the ground and provided with ingenious sounding boards of various kinds. *A propos* of the Balinese musicians, whose delightful *gamelan* music was enjoyed by thousands at last year's Colonial Exhibition in Paris, the Dutch musical critic, M. Matthys Vermeulen, and Dr. Jaap Kunst, the musicologist to the Dutch East Indian Government, break a couple of lances with enthusiasm and vehemence, leaving the reader with the strong desire to hear some more of the charming Balinese music for himself. The essential features and the wide popularity of *Sundanese Dances* are dealt with by Raden Ibrahim Singadilaga on the basis of an article in Sundanese by M. Suriadiraja and I. Adiwijaya.

With regard to ancient customs and traditions, further articles appear from the work of the late Haji Hasan Mustafa on *The Âdat* (i.e., *traditional*) *Customs of the Sundanese*, while Raden Sujana Tirtakusuma proves the survival to our day of some of the ancient customs in his description of the solemn procession of the sacred *Blue Banner*, which was held last January in the city of Jogjakarta in order to mitigate, so it was faithfully believed by those who urged the holding of this rare ceremony,

the scourge of plague in Kota Gedé, once the capital of the empire of Mataram, now a market town of some little importance in the Sultanate of Jogjakarta. Another aspect of ceremonial processions is dealt with in Dr. Th. Pigeaud's review of recent works on the *Garebegs in Jogjakarta.*

A remarkable example of the survival of Indian influences even in the Muhammadan art of Java is provided by Dr. K. C. Crucq in his description of three carved wooden and guilt panels in the Kraton Kasepuhan at Cheribon. These panels, which bear the Javanese equivalent of the year 1827 A.D., are covered with pious Muhammadan inscriptions, but curiously enough include two Gaṇeśa figures, the one standing on a lion, the other seated on an elephant. These figures are drawn much as they would have been, had they been produced in the transition period of the sixteenth century, instead of in the nineteenth. The clouds, certain parts of the ornaments and the lions give the impression of Chinese motives, but these are in fact dexterously made up out of the ornamental Arabic lettering.

Among other publications of the Java Institute announced in *Djâwâ* are a *Pictorial History of the Civilisation of Java,* with text in Dutch, English and German; an important study of the mountain people of the *Tengger* by J. E. Jasper; the complete works of the late Prince Mangkunagara IV (3 vols.); *Madurese Music* by Mr. and Mrs. Brandts Buys-Van Zyp and *Living Antiquities of West Java* by B. van Tricht.

In the face of all this activity, much of which is of distinct interest to the student of Indian archæology and art, it seems a pity that the language barrier renders almost the whole of this work inaccessible to most British or Indian students. Seeing that *Djâwâ* from time to time contains translations of articles of interest to Javanese students which have appeared in England or in India (e.g., *The Makara in Indian Art,* by D. Ghosh, from the *Calcutta Review*) one wonders whether it would not be possible to establish relations between the Java Institute and kindred societies in England and India which would enable such part of their publications as is of especial interest to the students of Indian archæology, art or literature, to be made available in English, either in full or by way of summaries.

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

HISTORY OF ORISSA, vols. I-II, by R. D. BANERJI. R. Chatterjee, Calcutta.

The author of this valuable work needs no introduction. By his prolific writings on Epigraphy and Numismatics he has placed ample materials at our disposal for the reconstruction of the ancient history of India. But he was not a mere Archæologist. He was also a historian. His book, *Bâṅgālâr Itihâs,* clearly shows that he could digest epigraphic and other materials into a consistent history of a Province. What he did for Bengal in Bengali he has now done for Orissa in English. This latter work, however, is to the former what a macrocosm is to a microcosm. It may not be original in conception, but is certainly gigantic in execution. It is true that so far as the first volume is concerned he has been anticipated by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar in his *Orissa in the Making,* but taking into consideration the whole period beginning from prehistoric times down to the British conquest of Orissa, the latter book bears no comparison to the stupendous work done by Banerji. Every one of the chapters in his volume reads well and is packed with information, and one cannot help regretting that the author of this work did not live to see its publication.

It should not, however, be supposed that there can be no differences of opinion in regard to the views Banerji has propounded or even that he has not in some cases—fortunately for us very few—fallen into blunders. So far as the earlier part of his first volume is concerned his work is of far better quality. But continuous history of Orissa begins with the mediæval period, that is, after the death of Harsha. He does not seem to have taken equally great pains over this period, and we will specify a few instances to show what we mean. Fortunately for us the first volume of Dr. Hem Chandra Ray's work entitled *The Dynastic History of Northern India* has just come to hand, and chapter VII thereof treats of the " Dynasties of Orissa." There is thus much in common between the two books and this serves admirably for the purpose of comparison. It is not our object here to institute any detailed comparison. It will be quite sufficient if we turn to chapter XIV of vol. I of Banerji's work which gives an account of 'the Somavaṁśî Kings of Kosala,' and compare it with what Dr. Ray says about the same subject in his book. Here Banerji adopts the view of Rai Bahadur Hiralal that the Somavaṁśi princes of Trikaliṅga are descendants of the Somavaṁśî kings of Śripura. The only argument in favour of it is that both are Somavaṁśi, that is, belong to the lunar race. But, by itself, this is a dangerous argument, because in that case we have to suppose that the Râṭhoḍs of Jodhpur and the Śîsodiyâs of Udaipur pertain to the same clan, because both are Sûrya-vaṁśis. Nothing, however, is more untrue. Rai Bahadur Hiralal is no doubt right when he says that Mahâśivagupta and Mahâbhavâgupta denote the official titles (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XI, p. 187, n. 1) borne by father and son from among the Somavaṁśi kings of Trikaliṅga, but perhaps he goes too far when he asserts that the proper names Mahâśiva and Bhavadeva in the dynastic list of Śrîpura are similar official titles. These names, be it noted, are Mahâśiva and Bhavadeva, not even Mahâśiva and Mahâbhava, and not Mahâśivagupta and Mahâbhavagupta, which alone can rightly be taken as official titles. The

latter titles again alternate regularly in the case of the kings of Trikaliṅga, but Mahâśiva and Bhavadeva occur each only once in the case of the other rulers. These last again, as is quite clear from their inscriptions, belonged to the Pâṇḍava family, and it is not quite clear why the kings of Trikaliṅga make no mention of this family name even once in their records, if they were really descended from the former. There is, in fact, nothing to show that both these sets of rulers pertained to one family or clan, as suggested by Rai Bahadur Hiralal, or, long before him, by Cunningham (*ASIR.*, vol. XVII, pp. 17, 85 and 87). Dr. Hemchandra Ray has thus done well by not blindly following in the footsteps of his predecessors. But Banerji holds that the first king of this dynasty is Mahâbhavagupta-Janamejaya, and not his father Śivagupta. He, however, ignores in this connection an attributive occurring in the Jaṭesiṅgâ-Ḍungrî (Sonpur State) Plates published by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar in *JBORS.*, vol. II, p. 52 ff., which were issued by Mahâśivagupta-Yayâtideva, successor of Mahâbhavaguptadeva. The former speaks of himself here as *svabhujopârjita-Trikaliṅg-âdhipati*, 'Lord of the Trikaliṅga (country) acquired through his own arms.' Evidently he was the first king of the dynasty of Trikaliṅga, and must be taken as the father, not the son of the Mahâbhavagupta wrongly taken as the first king by Banerji. It is true that the Jaṭesiṅga-Ḍungrî Plates couple the titles of the supreme ruler not only with the son of Mahâśivagupta but also with the father, Mahâbhavagupta. The first, however, made himself the founder of the Trikaliṅga family. The father no doubt was an overlord, but must have ruled elsewhere. There is a nominative termination after *svabhujopârjita-Trikaliṅg-âdhipati* which has been ignored, but which shows that it is an epithet of Mahâśivagupta. The transcript of Mr. Mazumdar is quite clear on this point, and is in entire agreement with the facsimile which accompanied his article. As regards what Banerji has said about Yayâtikesari, we have now to correct and supplement it in the light of the Ratnagiri and Balijhari Plates printed in *JBORS.*, vol. XVI, p. 209 ff., and vol. XVII, p. 15 ff. But it is no fault of these scholars if their books do not contain the information supplied by these inscriptions, because these were published after their books were printed.

Similar differences of opinion are possible also in regard to the accounts given by Banerji of the other dynasties of the mediæval period, such, e.g., as the Karas. My views about them all will be found in the *Genealogical Lists* that will follow my *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, which is being published in the *Epigraphia Indica*. Suffice it to say here, that Banerji has allowed himself to be obsessed with the transcripts and interpretations of his predecessors, notably the late MM. Haraprasâd Sâstrî. To mention one instance, the Bhîmnagarigaḍh Plate of Tribhuvana-mahâdevî, edited by this last scholar, has the following in lines 17-18: *devi-Purâyi-devyâ śrî-Gosvâminyâ*, '(who was entreated) by Gosvâminî Purâyi Devî,' and *nâthava suchiraṁ dhâray=ainâṁ* 'like a lord, rule the kingdom' (*JBORS.*, vol. II, pp. 422-3, and 426). A reference to the facsimile would have convinced Banerji that Haraprasâd Sâstrî's reading and translation were both wrong. In the first place, *devi-Purâyi-devyâ* is wrongly read for *devi pur=âpi devyâ*. It will thus be seen that there was no such person as Purâyi-devî as assumed by Sâstrî and Banerji. Secondly, *nâthava* is an obvious misreading for *tath=aiva*, and it is not quite clear how such a Sanskritist as Sâstrî translated *nâthava* by 'like a lord' as if it was *nâth=iva*.

There are different scholars who have specialised in the different periods of Indian History. Thus there are some who are experts in the Hindu, some in the Muhammadan, and some in the British, period of India. But there is hardly any scholar who has handled the three periods of Indian History. The only exception perhaps was R. D. Banerji. This will be assented to by any student who pores over his *History of Bengal*, and particularly his *History of Orissa* which is the subject of this review. Similarly he was an all-round archæologist. That he was an expert epigraphist and numismatist was known to every student of archæology. But that he was also some authority on Art and Architecture will now be conceded by every body who reads chapters XXIX and XXX of his book. Both of them, especially the latter, are profusely illustrated. The reproductions are the best that can be made in India. In any case they are superior even to those of the present publications of the Archæological Survey of India. Now, even in these chapters there is ample scope for honest differences of opinion, some of which only we will point out here though very briefly. The first of them deals with Mediæval Architecture. He refers us to a Holal inscription which speaks of four types of architecture, namely, Nâgara, Kâliṅga, Drâviḍa and Vesâra. Hitherto the temples of Orissa had been assigned to the Nâgara type, but he now dubs them as Kaliṅga, and bases the distinction merely on the difference of the spire, even when the *śikhara* of the Orissa temples is not materially different from that of the Nâgara style. Both have the curvilinear *śikhara* which indicates one type of spire. The Orissa spires are thus variations of one theme. No case has therefore been made out in favour of the Orissa temples being of the Kaliṅga, as distinct from the Nâgara, type of architecture. Again, Banerji attempts not only a novel denomination, as we have just seen, but also a novel chronology as we shall show. The earliest and the latest temples are recognised by him in conformity with the established opinion. But between these two he introduces a 'second' group simply on the

ground that it has no *jagamohana*. From all other features, however, such as curvature of *śikhara*, style of ornamentation, relation of decoration to architecture and so forth, it is clear that temples without a *jagamohana* were not a group by themselves but were a variation contemporary with or posterior, as the case may be, to the first group. Again, this first group of temples Banerji considers to be represented by (1) Paraśurâmesvara at Bhubaneśvar, (2) the twin temples of Gandharâḍi in the Baudh State, discovered by him, and (3) Mukteśvar (Bhuvaneśvar) in chronological sequence. The stylistic considerations do not, however, support his placing the Gandharâḍi temples prior to Mukteśvar, and perhaps the partiality of the discoverer for his discovery may be accountable for it.

The subsequent chapter deals with "Plastic Art." Very rightly the sculptures of Utkala are considered apart from those of Kaliṅga. The former are analysed with considerable insight and assigned to fairly well-substantiated periods, though in the latter group the treatment is a bit superficial. It would be unfair to blame an author for these shortcomings of his posthumous publication. Although they lack consistency of treatment, they are courageous attempts, offer many suggestions and place many new problems before the student.

In spite of the differences of opinion such as those noted above, it cannot be denied that the work of R. D. Banerji is of extreme interest and much value. And it is not possible to thank Babu Ramanand Chatterji sufficiently for helping the publication of such a work. It is devoutly hoped that other Indian journalists and publishers will follow his worthy example by arranging for the publication of original works on Indian History by the serious students of this subject who find it well-nigh impossible to bring them out themselves as Kubera has just now fled away from Bhâratavarsha, leaving Sarasvatî forelorn.

D. R. Bhandarkar.

A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics, by S. K. Chakrabortty, M.A., M.R.A.S., Professor of History, Ananda Mohan College, Mymensingh. Published by the author, 1931. Rs. 5 or 8*s*.

This little book is a useful digest of the present knowledge of the indigenous coinage of India up to the third century A.D., with special reference to Northern India. It has been prepared after a careful study of the literature on the subject, but not apparently with much personal acquaintance with the actual coins. The most notable omissions from the list of authorities used are Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities* edited by E. Thomas, a book which is still the main authority for certain classes of ancient Indian coins, and the series of papers by Professor Rapson on Ancient Indian Coins and Seals, which appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* after his valuable book in Bühler's *Grundriss*.

A preliminary chapter on the evolution of coinage, taken from well-known authorities is followed by one dealing with the problem of the origin of coinage in India. Here the author combats, as most scholars have done, the argument by Professor Bhandarkar in his Carmichael lectures, 1921, that money was coined in India as early as the third millenium before Christ. If this theory were correct it would be strange that such a valuable discovery had not spread westwards and that no traces of it had remained except in literature. Following Cunningham, Professor Chakrabortty thinks that Indian coinage may have begun as early as 1000 B.C. and he holds that its origin cannot be later than 800 B.C.

A chapter on weights and denominations which summarises the information in the Sanskrit classics is not altogether clear; and another on the metrology of the coins themselves is also not well arranged. It is not correct to conclude (p. 68) that India had not progressed to the stage of gold coins before the Kushâṇas. Gold coins of the successors of Alexander are known, though rare. The absence of silver coins of the Kushâṇas is due not to the linking of gold to copper (p. 79), but to the existence of a copious amount of silver coins in the country, which had been struck by the predecessors of this dynasty. A similar blank, but in the copper coinage of northern India, is to be observed in the seventeenth century. Kushâṇa copper coins evidently had a long currency as the worn condition of specimens show, and they were probably still existing during the Gupta period, and obviated the necessity for fresh coinage then. It is most improbable that copper was ever a mere token currency in the period dealt with (p. 80).

In the undeveloped condition of the country about the beginning of the Christian era it is not difficult to account for the variations in weights by defects in manufacture, rather than by attempts to measure small and casual variations in the relative values of metals. Moreover, the published material does not give a sufficiently long series of weights on which to base final conclusions. Fresh light on these questions may soon be expected when the British Museum Catalogue of Ancient coins is published. It should also be of great assistance in dealing with the question of the authority which issued the punch-marked coins (chap. VI), on which the author takes the later view, that these are state and not private coins.

The most valuable portion of the book is the last chapter, in which there is a brief summary of the classes of coins which occur, and an analysis of their types with full references to the authorities. This is a method which has had fruitful results in the dating of Greek and Roman coins, and deserves to be pursued. A few notes on these may be offered. Dr. V. A. Smith's reading of '*drama*' on the Yaudheya coins (p. 223) is not supported by the coins themselves, and the equation to the Greek drachm is improbable. *Bhâgavata* on the Audumbara coins may mean 'worshippers,' as on the Gupta silver coins, and need not refer to a god (p. 161). Cunningham's reading of *Bârânâyâ* on the coins of Gomitra is probably incorrect (p. 175). The identification of three elephants with riders on a type of Muttra coin (p. 203) is due to imperfect specimens, and the device is really a trident with garlands hanging from it. The name read doubtfully as Ghosha on another Muttra coin (p. 202) should be Siva Ghoṣa, a satrap.

R. Burn.

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